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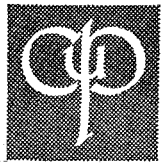
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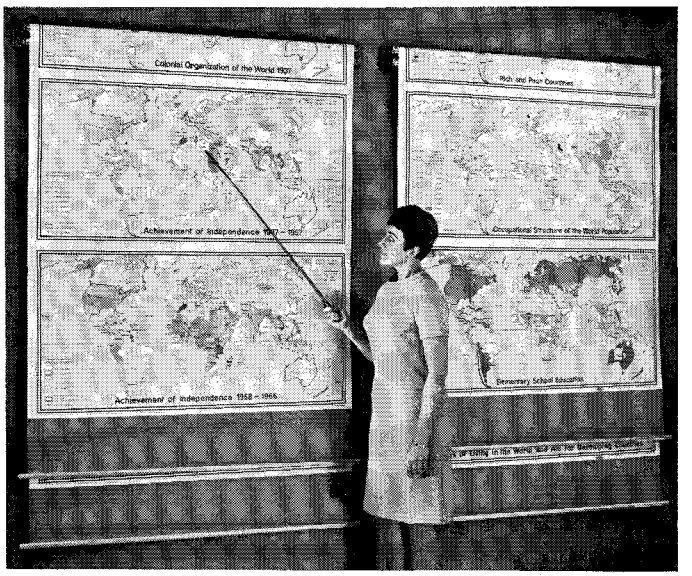
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VOLUME LXXIII, NUMBER 2 DECEMBER 1967

The Idea of "Avant-garde" in Art and Politics

DONALD D. EGBERT*

"I don't try to advise the Russians on economics. Why should they tell me how to paint?"[1] This was the pained and baffled reaction of the great avant-garde artist, Pablo Picasso, when—even though he had become a devoted Communist—some Soviet critics violently attacked his famous antifascist painting "Guernica" as an aesthetic perversion. Yet he and his Soviet critics would, of course, equally regard themselves as members of the political avant-garde of their day by the very fact that they are all Communists. For Vladimir Lenin, in his *What Is to Be Done?* of 1902, had propounded what remains the Communist political and social doctrine of the "party" as "vanguard of the revolutionary forces in our time."[2] In doing so he had used the Russian word *avangard*.

If avant-garde thus connotes leading the line of march to the future

* Mr. Egbert, professor of art and archaeology at Princeton University, is also associated with the School of Architecture and the American Civilization Program there. Among his publications are several articles on social radicalism as it has affected the arts, and he has served as joint editor (with Stow Persons) and coauthor of *Socialism and American Life* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1952). In his present article, contrary to the usual editorial style of the *AHR*, the word "avant-garde" has not been italicized in order to avoid a too specifically French connotation.

[1] Statement made by Pablo Picasso in 1948, reported by art critic John Canaday, New York *Times*, May 1, 1962.

[2] Vladimir I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* (New York, 1929), 85.

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both in art and in politics, how is the decided lack of agreement among devoted Communists concerning the proper nature of avant-gardism in art, and its relation to politics, to be accounted for?

It has never previously been pointed out, I believe, that the figurative use of the word avant-garde to denote radically progressive leaders of both art and society—and therefore the ultimate source of the disagreement between Picasso and his Soviet critics—can be traced to Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825).[3] This great French utopian socialist and ancestor of modern Communism as an acknowledged predecessor of Karl Marx employed avant-garde in this dual figurative sense only in some of his last writings. In earlier works he had romanticized the essentially mechanistic philosophy of nature popularized in France during the Enlightenment under the influence of Newtonian thought. He had regarded society as a kind of great machine operating under natural laws like those of the Newtonian universe, even while inconsistently combining this view with the idea of progress and the humanitarianism that likewise had become so important for advanced thinkers in the eighteenth century. He had, accordingly, given the leading role in the new society that he proposed for the industrial age to the scientists, not the pure scientists, but rather those who would apply science usefully to furthering the progress of society. Many of his earliest converts, therefore, were engineers from the first of the great engineering schools, the *École Polytechnique* at Paris, established in 1794 to train military engineers for the revolutionary armies. Opposite the very entrance of the *École Polytechnique,* Saint-Simon had chosen to live for some years beginning in 1798 when he was thirty-eight years old. Under his influence, his disciples from among its students and graduates were particularly excited by the possibilities offered by "scientific" social planning and large public works, with emphasis on improving means of communication. They thus became especially interested in developing canals and, eventually, railroads; for these, they believed, could promote universal social harmony by physically uniting the peoples of the world. Saint-Simon himself, who had actively participated in the fight for American independence, had visited Mexico at the end of the American Revolution to urge the construction of a canal joining the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, thereby uniting the hemispheres. His disciple, Barthélemy Enfantin, the chief leader of the Saint-Simonians after the master's death, became the effective promoter of the idea of a canal at Suez, though he lost the execution of it to Ferdinand de Lesseps, who himself subscribed to some Saint-Simonian doctrines.

[3] The best biography is Frank E. Manuel, *The New World of Henri Saint-Simon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).

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Later, Enfantin developed the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée Railroad; his friend and fellow Saint-Simonian, Michel Chevalier, headed a company, still in existence, to promote building a tunnel under the English Channel.

The earlier writings of Saint-Simon, which by extolling the applied scientist and engineer had especially stimulated the interest of his disciples in such developments as these, had essentially limited the role of artists to popularizing ideas introduced by the scientists. In view of Saint-Simon's own positivistic spirit at this early time, it is highly significant that Auguste Comte, founder of the philosophy of Positivism (and with Saint-Simon the founder of sociology), had become a disciple of Saint-Simon after studying at the *École Polytechnique,* and in 1817 became his secretary and "adopted son." But it is equally significant that he fell out with his master in 1824. For at that time Saint-Simon was moving away from his earlier conception of society as basically a kind of machine operating under Newtonian principles toward the essentially Romantic idea of society as a kind of living organism. According to this conception, each major form of society in history possesses a unique life of its own that makes it an organic totality differing from a machine in being more than merely the sum of its physical parts. Saint-Simon therefore increasingly emphasized the spiritual aspects of society, with the result that toward the end of his life he began to expound a radical religious doctrine he called the New Christianity. This, however, his former disciple Comte eventually rejected in favor of what he himself called the New Catholicism, which, in contrast to Saint-Simon's New Christianity, ultimately helped to stimulate not radicalism but a Rightist movement in religion and politics, and, indirectly, a nostalgic Gothic revivalism in the arts.[4] Yet at the same time Comte's philosophy of Positivism helped to encourage the kind of realistic art being developed by socially and artistically avant-garde artists such as Gustave Courbet.[5]

Saint-Simon expounded his New Christianity in detail in *Le Nouveau Christianisme* (Paris, 1825), published shortly before he died. This New

[4] See the unsigned review of Frank E. Manuel, *The Prophets of Paris* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), in London *Times Literary Supplement,* Aug. 10, 1962, 608. The reviewer points out that to Comte "was due the marriage of convenience between atheism and Catholicism which rejuvenated the Right in France and gave Charles Maurras his opportunity." Thus, "it was Auguste Comte who performed the miracle of uniting the prophets of the future with what [Jules] Barbey d'Aurevilly called 'the prophets of the past.'" It is well known that Catholic conservatism encouraged a Romantic Gothic revivalism in the arts. Paradoxically, however, Comte, as a prophet of the future, also stood for a utilitarianism that could be in harmony with the views of other Gothic revivalists in architecture, such as the anticlerical Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, who upheld the Gothic on the functionalist ground that it was characterized by economy of materials in structure.

[5] For the influence of Positivism on realistic art, see Charles E. Gauss, *The Aesthetic Theories of French Artists, 1855 to the Present* (Baltimore, 1949), 11–13. Courbet, writing in *Le Courrier du dimanche,* Dec. 29, 1861, declared, "An object abstract, invisible, nonexistent is not in the domain of painting."

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Christianity he envisaged, in highly Romantic fashion, as being based on a feeling of universal harmony, humanitarianism, sympathy, and love, but he completely rejected the clergy of the old Christianity as being utterly unsuited for promoting such a feeling. Instead he believed that artists, as a new kind of priesthood, were best fitted to move mankind to progress by stimulating sentiment.

Thus, at the end of Saint-Simon's life and especially in the conclusion to his *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles,* also published at Paris in the year of his death, he sought to give artists the leading role in the forthcoming good society. This he did by placing them at the head of an elite administrative trinity consisting of artists, scientists, and industrialists-artisans. And in expressing the conceptions of an artistic avant-garde and of a social vanguard, conceptions so important for the history of modern art and of modern social radicalism alike, former soldier Saint-Simon made use of the word "avant-garde" to convey them. In so doing he went well beyond such eighteenth-century predecessors as Denis Diderot, the German aesthetician Johann Georg Sulzer, or Maximilien Robespierre's friend, that greatest painter of the French revolutionary period, Jacques Louis David, all of whom were among those who in various ways had insisted upon the need for socially useful art.[6] It should be added that Diderot and David, at least, had explicitly or tacitly emphasized realism in the representational arts as important for conveying socially useful ideas that would be understandable by everyone. And in 1793 it was David who led the Jacobins in bringing about the closing of the hated royal academies of arts, literature, and science.

In his *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles,* Saint-Simon defined "artist" in a Romantic way as signifying "the man of imagination," thus reflecting the stimulation of such eighteenth-century figures as Jean Jacques Rousseau and various early German Romantics. He also declared that the term "artist" includes all moral teachers and "embraces simul-

[6] A long extract from Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1771–74) was published as the section "Beaux Arts" (or fine arts) under the heading "Art" in Volume I of the supplement to the *Encyclopédie* (4 vols., Amsterdam, 1776–77). The article "Art" in the first volume (1751) of the *Encyclopédie,* believed to have been written by Diderot himself, had been deliberately restricted to the "mechanic arts" (roughly equivalent to the crafts and industrial arts), regarded as the most socially useful. Sulzer, however, insisted that the great age of social utility and of art, as well as of democratic liberty, had been that of the ancient Greeks and Etruscans, a period when the fine arts themselves had been devoted to the good of the state and thus to social purposes. David exalted Roman republicanism in his famous prerevolutionary paintings, "The Oath of the Horatii" (1785) and "Brutus" (1789). He went even further than either Diderot or Sulzer when he proclaimed that artists could have no higher duty than "to produce work of 'usable application,'" and that art has a deliberately "utilitarian aim; not the particular utility of a principal caste, but the general utility of the nation, of the masses. . . ." (Quoted in Alan Gowans, *The Restless Art: A History of Painters and Painting, 1760–1960* [Philadelphia, 1966], 26.)

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taneously the works of the painter, of the musician, of the poet, of the literary man, in a word everything that has sensation for its object."[7] In an accompanying grandiloquent dialogue between an artist and a scientist, or "savant," he had the artist say:

> It is we, artists, who will serve you as avant-garde [his own word]: the power of the arts is in fact most immediate and most rapid: when we wish to spread new ideas among men, we inscribe them on marble or on canvas; . . . and in that way above all we exert an electric and victorious influence. We address ourselves to the imagination and to the sentiments of mankind, we should therefore always exercise the liveliest and most decisive action; and if today our role appears nil or at least very secondary, what is lacking in the arts is that which is essential to their energy and to their success, namely, a common drive and a general idea.[8]

Needless to say, the Saint-Simonian social movement was supposed to furnish that drive and idea. But according to Saint-Simon himself, the good society will be achieved only

> when [individualistic] egoism, this bastard fruit of civilization, has been pushed back to its last defenses, when literature and the fine arts have put themselves at the head of the movement, and have finally filled society with passion for its own well-being. . . . What a most beautiful destiny for the arts, that of exercising over society a positive power, a true priestly function, and of marching forcefully in the van of all the intellectual faculties, in the epoch of their greatest development! This is the duty of artists, this their mission. . . .[9]

He added that it was the duty of the scientists, by solid demonstrations, to second the conceptions of the arts. By such means, government eventually would be reduced merely to the role of police. This idea was ultimately anarchistic, but it nonetheless helped to furnish the foundation for Karl Marx's conception of the classless society.

In these doctrines of Saint-Simon, then, we have one of the first clear foreshadowings by a socialist of some later Marxian theories of society and art, according to which society would be highly centralized under the direction of an elite group, with the end of art to be social utility achieved by making the works of art didactic and easily understood by the multitude as Diderot and David had already urged. This conception of art, which tended to equate it with social propaganda, would continue to be held by those social radicals, including the followers of Marx, whose interests were to be basically political and economic, and who disregarded Saint-Simon's idea of artists as the foremost leaders of society. At the opposite pole, however, were some who were so enchanted by the kind of leading role which

[7] [Henri de Saint-Simon,] *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles* (Paris, 1825), 331, n. 1.
[8] *Ibid.*, 341–42.
[9] *Ibid.*, 346–47.

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Saint-Simon gave to the artist that they completely rejected his belief that art should be devoted to achieving social goals and therefore necessarily be functional, utilitarian, didactic, and easily understandable. In other words, they subscribed to a belief in the movement, Romantic in origin, known as "l'art pour l'art"[10] or "art for art's sake." But since only an utterly incomplete, one-sided, Saint-Simonianism could be in harmony with "l'art pour l'art," Saint-Simonians sharply attacked the exponents of that movement.[11] The latter in turn, if they had any social interests at all, were likely to be sympathetic to the social utopianism of Saint-Simon's chief socialist rival, Charles Fourier, who in contrast to Saint-Simon stood not for a social movement highly centralized about a controlling elite group but for decentralizing society and government into small, closely knit, federated communities, or "phalanxes," as more conducive to the personal development of their individual members. Thus, where Saint-Simon was to be in many respects an ancestor of the Marxian varieties of communism, Fourier was to be an ancestor of modern communist anarchism,[12] a variety of socialism to which leaders of art for art's sake understandably became more sympathetic.

It is significant, therefore, that although Théophile Gautier, whose preface to his novel *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (2 vols., Paris, 1835) is usually regarded as the first great manifesto of art for art's sake, held a romantic conception of artists as constituting an elite, he differed profoundly from Saint-Simon in maintaining that members of the artistic elite should above all express themselves and never devote their works to social ends. In the preface he attacked those who, with Saint-Simon, would have artists consecrate themselves and their art to purely social purposes, yet he extolled Fourier at length. In so doing, however, he had in mind not Fourier's social ideas but rather Fourier himself as a uniquely inspired Romantic genius, admired by Gautier primarily for his essentially anarchistic individualism.[13] It is thus hardly surprising that some leading exponents of art for

[10] Apparently the first use of the phrase "l'art pour l'art" occurred in an entry in the *Journal intime* of the Romantic writer, Benjamin Constant, for February 10, 1804. (See Louise Rosenblatt, *L'Idée de l'art pour l'art dans la littérature anglaise pendant la période victorienne* [Paris, 1931], 12.) In February 1804 Constant was in Germany with his mistress, Mme. Anne de Staël. Thus the term "l'art pour l'art" evidently developed out of German Romanticism, and ultimately out of the Kantian conception of art as "disinterested."

[11] Indeed, the first use of "l'art pour l'art" in print is said to have been made in 1833 by an opponent of art for art's sake, Hippolyte Fortoul, in the essentially Saint-Simonian periodical of Pierre Leroux, *Revue encyclopédique*, LIX (July–Sept. 1933), 109.

[12] George Woodcock, *Anarchism* (Cleveland, 1962), 24.

[13] Gautier wrote: "The only one among you who has common sense is a madman, a great genius, an idiot, a divine poet far above Lamartine, Hugo, and Byron. He is Charles Fourrier [*sic*], the phalansterian, who is all this in himself alone. . . ." (See Théophile Gautier, *Mademoiselle de Maupin* [New York, 1944], xxxiii.) Gautier did not, however, use the actual phrase "l'art pour l'art" in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, or in other writings until much later.

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art's sake were later to be directly connected with the socialistic anarchism that so largely grew out of Fourier's ideas. Oscar Wilde, for instance, published in the *Fortnightly Review* for February 1891 an essay on "The Soul of Man under Socialism" from an anarchist point of view; two years later he publicly declared himself an anarchist.[14]

By no means all anarchists, however, subscribed, like Wilde, to art for art's sake. Indeed, the first man to call himself an anarchist, always previously a term of opprobrium, believed that art should have a social purpose. This was Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865),[15] who as a young man had been greatly influenced by Fourier when he supervised the printing of one of Fourier's books: as he later said, he became for a time "the captive of this bizarre genius."[16] Furthermore, although Proudhon never was a Saint-Simonian, he was not unaffected by Saint-Simonianism and, like Saint-Simon, ascribed special importance to the social utility of art.

Proudhon's closest friend was the great, socially radical artist Courbet, whom he apparently first met in the revolutionary year of 1848. He much admired Courbet's realistic style, especially as exemplified in such paintings of the laboring man as the famous "Stonebreakers" (1850).[17] For Proudhon considered such art to express the social movement that would "bring the end of capitalism and the sovereignty of the producers."[18] When Proudhon died, he had nearly completed a book entitled *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale,* one of the first studies entirely devoted to the social relevance of art. This had started out to be merely a brief essay written at Courbet's request to expound the theoretical basis of one of Courbet's paintings, but Proudhon had become so fascinated by the subject that he decided to expand it into a full-length book. In this book, completed after his death by Courbet and another friend, Proudhon attacked art for art's sake, holding that the aim of art is "to teach us to mix the agreeable with the useful in all aspects of our existence,"[19] and that "Art, like literature, is the expression of society. . . ."[20] In it, too, he praised the art of Courbet

[14] Woodcock, *Anarchism,* 305.

[15] That Proudhon was the first to call himself an anarchist (in 1840) is mentioned *ibid.,* 11.

[16] George Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (New York, 1956), 13.

[17] The painting, long in Dresden, was lost after the Russians arrived during World War II, perhaps through Anglo-American bombing while being transported to the USSR. (See the editorial, "The Dresden Pictures," *Burlington Magazine,* XCVIII [July 1956], 221 ff.) A smaller version of the painting, with figures in reverse, believed to be a study for the Dresden picture, is in the Oskar Reinhart Collection at Winterthur, Switzerland (No. 35 in the catalogue of the collection, published in 1955). Professor Linda Nochlin provided me with this information.

[18] Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon,* 257.

[19] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale* (Paris, 1865), 350–51.

[20] *Ibid.,* 117.

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by declaring that some of his paintings, including the "Stonebreakers," are true examples of socialist painting.[21]

Even though Proudhon, at one time a friend of Marx, had become one of the latter's chief opponents, the art of his friend Courbet was to be greatly admired in the Soviet Union on the same grounds that Proudhon himself had admired it. Also, after Proudhon's death, Courbet had played a prominent role in the Paris Commune of 1871, which Marx and Engels had come to regard as the best illustration of a revolution of the proletariat. For these reasons, in the USSR Courbet was to be viewed as a chief foreign ancestor in painting of Soviet "socialist realism," often said to have been so named by Joseph Stalin himself.[22]

Thus, out of Saint-Simon's conception of the artist's role there developed an enduring dilemma for the radically avant-garde artist. Should he devote his art directly to forwarding radical social ideas as a member of an elite social avant-garde in accordance with the later doctrines of Saint-Simon, and still later those of Marxists and Marxist-Leninists? If so, must his art be socially realistic? If this ought to be the case, is it because art thereby becomes more easily understood by the masses, and thus socially useful for propaganda, as Lenin, Stalin, and their official successors in the Soviet Union have maintained? Or, on the contrary, should the artist consider himself to be simply a member of a purely artistic avant-garde? If the latter, should he divorce himself as well as his art entirely from all social interests, as the more extreme upholders of art for art's sake have insisted? Or should he, like Wilde, be socially concerned in some way, but keep his art and his social ideas essentially separate?

This dilemma had not become clear to most avant-garde artists for a considerable time after Saint-Simon first put forth his conception of the artistic avant-garde as leading the good society. After his death his followers, even those trained as engineers, developed his most recent doctrines by making extraordinary and quite successful efforts to attract to Saint-Simonianism artistically radical practitioners of the various arts, visual, literary, and musical. The overthrow of the reactionary monarchy of Charles X, last of the Bourbon kings of France, in the Revolution of 1830, greatly widened their opportunities to do so. In that revolutionary year, one of the Saint-Simonians, a dramatist and former professor of rhetoric named Émile Barrault, was entrusted by the leaders of the sect with the task of publishing at Paris a work on the Saint-Simonian theory of art, which would also be

[21] *Ibid.*, 236.

[22] While Stalin was still living, Louis Aragon, leading French Communist, wrote a biography of Courbet, *L'Exemple de Courbet* (Paris, 1952), from a thoroughly socialist-realist point of view.

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a call to artists. Entitled *Aux artistes: Du passé et l'avenir des beaux-arts, doctrine de Saint-Simon,* it was the first strong effort of nineteenth-century social reformers to convert artists and writers to the cause of social progress on a socialistic basis. As a product of utopian (or mainly Romantic) socialism, it could particularly appeal to artists of the Romantic period in spite of an ostensible emphasis on rationalism also characteristic of the Saint-Simonians.

Barrault, seeing art as the essence of Saint-Simon's New Christianity, declared that "henceforth the fine arts are the religion, and the artist is the priest."[23] It was natural that Saint-Simonianism for a time greatly attracted many Romantic artists who seized upon Saint-Simon's conception of an avant-garde in which artists were supreme, whether or not they were really sympathetic to Saint-Simon's social ideas. Among the artists who became devoted members of the Saint-Simonian sect were the landscape painter Raymond Bonheur, father of the better-known Rosa Bonheur, and the composer Félicien David. But far more famous artists, composers, and writers were at least temporarily drawn to Saint-Simonianism. It notably appealed to progressive musicians and composers because of the emphasis on the value of art in general and music in particular for promoting social harmony, as well as on the importance of artists in the avant-garde. Franz Liszt attended meetings of the Saint-Simonians, as did Hector Berlioz, who was among those present at special sessions organized specifically to attract artists—sessions conducted by a young architect named Henry. Berlioz directly applied the Saint-Simonian precepts concerning social utility as the aim of art, especially social utility in the means of communication among men, in his "Chant d'inauguration des chemins de fer."[24]

Many well-known literary figures of the Romantic period were also at least temporarily drawn to Saint-Simonianism. The novelist George Sand showed the influence of its ideas which came to her mainly through her friend, the onetime Saint-Simonian, Pierre Leroux. Some members of Victor Hugo's *Cénacle,* that key group for the history of French Romanticism, were likewise affected by Saint-Simonianism. One of them, the future great literary critic Charles Sainte-Beuve, was a Saint-Simonian in the 1820's. In that period, also, another member of the *Cénacle,* the poet Alfred de Vigny, reflected Saint-Simonian ideas. By the late 1830's De Vigny had broken away from such socialistic influences, but the liberal Hugo became ever more socialistic, especially after the mid-1840's when he began to write his

[23] Quoted in Pontus Grate, *Deux critiques d'art de l'époque romantique: Gustave Planche et Théophile Thoré* (Stockholm, 1959), 143.

[24] See Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Counter-Revolution of Science* (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), 157; Marguerite Thibert, *Le Rôle sociale de l'art d'après les Saint-Simoniens* (Paris, 1927), 54, 33, n. 40; Herbert J. Hunt, *Le Socialisme et le romantisme en France* (Oxford, Eng., 1935), 50.

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great social novel *Les Misérables*. Although the Saint-Simonians, to whom liberalism was an enemy, had been reluctant to accept Hugo, their rivals, the Fourierists, were so impressed by *Les Misérables* that they became very favorably disposed to him. And Fourierism in the end could be more attractive to those socially-minded artists and writers who, as Romantic individualists, opposed centralization of power, which for them connoted the despised official academies of art and literature revived since 1795, and which rendered them more or less anarchistically inclined.[25]

One famous figure, who, like Hugo, passed from the influence of the Saint-Simonians almost to becoming a Fourierist, was the great Romantic-realistic author, Honoré de Balzac, destined to become Marx's favorite novelist. Balzac was deeply interested in the visual arts, and from him came the use of the words "bohemia," "bohemians," and "bohemianism" as artistic and literary terms in their modern sense.[26] He first employed "bohemians" in this sense in his novel *Un grand homme de province à Paris* (2 vols., Paris, 1838). Soon the label "bohemian" was to be widely applied to those artists and writers who, by their nonconformist mode of life, demonstrated that they regarded themselves as an avant-garde group in opposition to the stuffy bourgeoisie and to centralized government as represented by the official art academies now under bourgeois control. While many bohemians simply devoted themselves to art for art's sake in works calculated to upset the bourgeoisie, it is too often forgotten that others were led to adopt social views and take part in political activities equally disturbing to the middle class.

Balzac's newly invented term was adopted by Henry Murger for his work eventually known as *Scènes de la vie de Bohème*, largely based on his own experiences. Originally a collection of stories serialized at Paris in *Le Corsaire* between 1845 and 1849, it was dramatized there in the latter year, and published in book form at Brussels and then Paris in 1851. This not only greatly helped to popularize the idea of bohemianism; it also conveyed strong overtones of social realism. Murger,[27] in addition to being a thorough bohemian, was, like Balzac, eventually strongly influenced by Fourierism. In this context of social radicalism, therefore, it is worth noting

[25] On the socialism of Romantic writers mentioned in this paragraph, see especially Hunt, *Le Socialisme et le romantisme en France, passim;* see also David O. Evans, *Social Romanticism in France, 1830–1848* (Oxford, Eng., 1951). Even though the academies, closed in 1793 through the influence of David and the other Jacobins, had been revived in 1795 as part of the new *Institut de France*, they remained weak for some time.

[26] For the origin of these terms, see the unsigned review of Robert Baldick, *The First Bohemian: The Life of Henry Murger* (London, 1961), in London *Times Literary Supplement*, May 19, 1961, 307. The reviewer corrects Baldick. See also Malcolm Easton, *Artists and Writers in Paris: The Bohemian Idea, 1803–1867* (New York, 1964), 134 ff.

[27] On Murger, see Baldick, *The First Bohemian*, and Easton, *Artists and Writers in Paris*.

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that he was led to become a poet by a Fourierist friend named Eugène Pottier, a textile designer, decorative artist, and poet who participated in the Revolution of 1848, and also was to play an important role in the Paris Commune of 1871 and to write the words of what became the famous Communist song, the *Internationale*.

Such were some of the ramifications in France of Saint-Simon's conception of the avant-garde role of artists both socially and artistically. The efforts of the Saint-Simonians to attract converts, especially converts in the arts or letters, were, however, by no means limited to France. They sent missions to many parts of Europe, to North Africa, and also one to the Near East, but sought in vain to get permission for this group to enter Russia. It was led by Émile Barrault, author of the Saint-Simonian call to artists; on the way to the Near East Barrault strongly influenced the young mate of the ship—Giuseppe Garibaldi.[28]

A Saint-Simonian mission to England had considerable effect on Thomas Carlyle. One of the missionaries, Gustave d'Eichthal, had been struck with the similarities between Carlyle's essay of 1829, "Signs of the Times," and the ideas of Saint-Simon, and had begun to correspond with Carlyle. While in England to convert the British to Saint-Simonianism, D'Eichthal made a point of meeting Carlyle, who was considerably intrigued with ideas in many respects so similar to his own. Disregarding the advice of his spiritual father, Goethe, to stay aloof from the Saint-Simonians, he even made a translation into English of Saint-Simon's *Nouveau Christianisme,* for which, however, he could not find a publisher.[29]

Although Carlyle's direct contact with Saint-Simonians had ended by 1834, in part because, under attack by the French government on the ground that they were dangerously subversive, their sect had broken up as an organized body, Saint-Simonianism had stimulated his thought on social questions. But so closely did many of his views about philosophy, history, morals, and politics (though not about religion) parallel those of Saint-Simon that to this day scholars continue to argue over how much Carlyle's views were affected by Saint-Simonianism, and to what degree they were independent. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that Carlyle is cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the first to use the word "vanguard" figuratively in English in

[28] In his autobiography Garibaldi told of his nightly conversations with Barrault during the voyage. (See John Parris, *The Lion of Caprera: A Biography of Giuseppe Garibaldi* [New York, 1962], 21–29.)

[29] Emery Neff, *Carlyle and Mill* (2d rev. ed., New York, 1926), 170–74. The literature on Carlyle and the Saint-Simonians is large: see, e.g., David B. Cofer, *Saint-Simonianism in the Radicalism of Thomas Carlyle* (College Station, Texas, 1931); Hill Shine, *Carlyle and the Saint-Simonians* (Baltimore, 1941); and Richard K. P. Pankhurst, *The Saint-Simonians, Mill and Carlyle* (London, 1957).

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place of the earlier "van." He did so in 1831 when he was in close touch with the Saint-Simonians. Apparently, even though in this instance he was applying "vanguard" to the primacy of German culture, he was simply translating the French word "avant-garde," employed figuratively by Saint-Simon six years earlier with reference to the ideal sociocultural administrative vanguard and the leading role of artists in it.

Whereas Carlyle customarily regarded the visual arts with contempt,[30] John Ruskin, who in social matters called Carlyle "Master," considered art to be vital for the regeneration of human society and the human personality degraded by an industrial era. In believing this, Ruskin was affected by Christian socialism; he even taught drawing in the Working Men's College established at London in 1854 by the Reverend Frederick Denison Maurice, the Anglican clergyman who was a founder of English Christian socialism.

Maurice is carefully represented with Carlyle, together with laboring men, in Ford Madox Brown's famous ultrarealistic painting, "Work" (1852–63), today in the Manchester City Art Gallery, which also includes a representation of a billboard on which the Working Men's College is advertised. For Maurice and Carlyle were the chief heroes of Madox Brown, who not only had introduced a then avant-garde realism into English painting but who freely acknowledged that he himself had "twinges" of socialism: indeed, his grandson later wrote of him that "his intellect made him a Socialist of an extreme type."[31] One should add that the main stimulus for the Christian socialist movement in England, within which Madox Brown's hero, Maurice, was so prominent, had come from France. And there the movement had been established by a former Saint-Simonian interested in the arts, Philippe Buchez, who had turned back from Saint-Simon's New Christianity toward a more nearly orthodox Roman Catholic Christianity.[32]

The ideas of Maurice's friend Ruskin most profoundly influenced that

[30] Characteristically, however, Carlyle did admire the Crystal Palace, that avant-garde, socially useful structure built primarily of prefabricated metal and glass by Joseph Paxton to house the "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations" held in London in 1851. Still, Carlyle especially admired it for the Romantic reason that "it surpassed in beauty of effect and arrangement all the edifices I have ever seen or read of, except in the Arabian Tales [that is, *The Arabian Nights*]. (Quoted in Julian Symons, *Thomas Carlyle* [London, 1952], 243.)

[31] Robin Ironside, *Pre-Raphaelite Painters* (New York, 1948), 16; and Ford Madox Hueffer (later known as Ford Madox Ford), *Ford Madox Brown: A Record of His Life and Work* (London, 1896), 401. Madox Brown's kind of realism had been stimulated by contact with former members of the Nazarenes, a group of German Catholic religious-communist painters in Rome.

[32] On Buchez, see Armand Cuvillier, *P.-J.-B. Buchez et les origines du socialisme chrétien* (Paris, 1948); see also Evans, *Social Romanticism in France*, 28. Evans records Buchez's Saint-Simonian regard for literature and the fine arts as social creations—"the creations of all that is least individualistic in man," as Buchez called them.

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other famous figure in nineteenth-century English literature and the arts, William Morris, who like Madox Brown had connections with the group of artists known as the Pre-Raphaelites, of which Ruskin was a sponsor. Not unlike Saint-Simon at the end of his life, Morris believed that the artist should lead society. Yet Ruskin's ideas stimulated him to exalt a Gothic revivalism, one that did not simply look backward to medieval Christianity but forward to a new cooperative and collectivistic social order inspired by the example of the medieval guilds. Because Morris' progressive social ideas eventually led him to regard himself as a Marxist,[33] it is all the more important to recall that Marx himself had been strongly influenced by Saint-Simonianism—more so, indeed, than by anything else except the philosophy of Hegel and, perhaps, British classical economics.[34] Even though Marx was primarily stimulated by Saint-Simon's social ideas, he had been, particularly in his younger days, much interested in aesthetics and the history of art.[35] Hence Saint-Simon's ideas about artists and the arts as important factors in a social organism could likewise affect him, even though in maturity Marx regarded the arts as but part of a superstructure resting upon the economic base of society.

The great importance of Saint-Simon's doctrines for Marxian social, political, and economic thought was freely acknowledged by Marx and his greatest friend, Friedrich Engels. In the famous *Communist Manifesto* (published in German at London in 1848), written when Marx was only twenty-nine and Engels two years younger, they referred to the system of Saint-Simon, along with those of such other utopian socialists as Fourier and Robert Owen, as the springing into existence of "The Socialist and Communist systems properly so-called. . . ."[36] Engels later wrote: ". . . German theoretical socialism," meaning primarily the socialism of Marx and himself, "will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen. . . ."[37] It is significant that in both quotations Saint-

[33] Morris became a Marxist in 1883, the year of Marx's death. In 1889 he even began to refer to himself as a "Communist," but this was long after Marx, Engels, and their more orthodox followers had given up the term "Communism" for "Socialism." Morris, following the earlier Marx, defined Communism as "true and complete Socialism." (See his essay "Communism" [1893], in William Morris, *On Art and Socialism,* ed. Holbrook Jackson [London, 1947], 327.)

[34] Lenin, more or less following Engels, once wrote: "Marx was the genius who continued and consummated the three main ideological currents of the nineteenth century, as represented by the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy [especially Hegel], classical English political economy, and French socialism [including, of course, Saint-Simon] combined with French Revolutionary doctrines in general." (See Vladimir Lenin, "Karl Marx," in *V. I. Lenin: Collected Works,* XXI, ed. Julius Katzer [Moscow, 1964], 50.)

[35] The most complete collection of Marx's statements with bearing on the arts is *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Über Kunst und Literatur,* ed. Michail Lifschitz ([East] Berlin, 1953).

[36] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* as tr. in *A Handbook of Marxism,* ed. Emile Burns (New York, 1935), 55.

[37] Friedrich Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (London, 1927), 28.

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Simon is mentioned first. However, unlike such utopians as Saint-Simon and Fourier, who believed in peaceful evolutionary progress largely because they had greatly suffered in the French Revolution, Marx and Engels were in the revolutionary tradition of the Jacobins, foreshadowing Lenin.

The young Marx had become interested in Saint-Simonianism especially through his older friend, mentor, and future father-in-law, Ludwig von Westphalen.[38] Furthermore, his friend Engels was converted to Communism by Moses Hess, probably the first German writer to direct Saint-Simonianism into the mainstream of German thought.[39] The intellectual background of Marx as a young man was, as hinted above, such that he could be interested not only in Saint-Simon's social ideas but in his conception of artists and art as well—the more so because for Saint-Simon the end of art itself was social utility.

As a student at the University of Bonn, Marx had attended lectures on modern art; later, at the University of Berlin, aesthetics and the history of art were subjects to which he gave special attention. Then, for instance, he made excerpts from Johann Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* and from Gotthold Lessing's *Laokoon*.[40] He maintained a strong interest in art for some time: as late as 1857–1858 he took extracts from a recent multivolumed work on Hegelian aesthetics and from various encyclopedia articles on art with the apparent intention of writing a book on aesthetics himself.[41] But the stimulation of Saint-Simonianism on some of his thoughts about art had been especially strong earlier, notably when, at the age of twenty-five and twenty-six, he had written what are now called his *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. These, however, were scarcely known before a partial Russian translation of 1927 was followed by the first complete edition, in German, five years later. Because the *Manuscripts* illuminate Marx's early ideas, ideas in which the influence of anarchism is not wholly lacking, they have helped give rise to "revisionist" tendencies within Marxism, including, since World War II, those of the movement known as the "New Left."

In the *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* the young Marx had written that man differs from animals and insects not only because of his ability to produce "independently of physical needs" but also because, in produc-

[38] Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (New York, 1940), 114. Such influential Russian radicals as Aleksandr Herzen and Vissarion Belinsky were independently stimulated by Saint-Simonianism in the 1830's and early 1840's, respectively.

[39] *Ibid.*, 134.

[40] Marx mentioned making these excerpts in a letter to his father dated November 10, 1837.

[41] See Hans Koch, *Marxismus und Ästhetik* ([East] Berlin, 1961), 14–15; see also György Lukács, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels als Literaturhistoriker* ([East] Berlin, 1948), 6. Some of Marx's own most important references to art occur in the fragmentary, and long-unpublished, draft for an introduction to his *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (Berlin, 1859).

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ing, he "creates in accordance with the laws of beauty."[42] For voluntary productive activity is man's element; in this activity he expresses himself as an artist, or at least would do so if he had not been alienated from himself and his work by the imperfect organization of society, especially under capitalism. Thus in the good society, according to Marx, man will be an artist in production—a variation on an essentially Saint-Simonian theme.

Once Marx had come to regard the prevailing mode of production as ultimately determining a given society, he naturally felt that he must concentrate on political economy. The inevitable result was that he found all his time taken up by his efforts to complete his great work, *Das Kapital,* even though he hoped eventually to devote himself to subjects other than economics, and including aesthetics. Since he never had the opportunity to do so, the emphasis on economics in *Das Kapital* gave his followers a somewhat one-sided view of his ideas: consequently they too devoted themselves almost solely to problems of political economy. Apart from Georgi Plekhanov, Marx's son-in-law Paul Lafargue, Anatoli Lunacharski, Leon Trotsky, and a few others, leading Marxists tended ordinarily to neglect literature and the arts more than Marx had ever wished to do. Hence when in the Soviet Union it was later found necessary to develop a complete Marxist aesthetic, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socialist realism that eventually resulted placed the arts entirely under the control of the political leaders of the Communist party. For Marx's followers adopted and promoted the view of Marx and Engels that in modern society the Marxists constitute the one true and all-important political and social avant-garde—although, unlike their followers, Marx and Engels had not actually used that term.[43]

Nevertheless, Marx's and Engels' assumption that they and the other Marxian Communists, as leaders of the proletariat, made up the avant-garde had already appeared clearly in the *Communist Manifesto,* even though the word "avant-garde" does not occur in it. There they had declared that:

> The Communists . . . bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat. . . . The Communists . . . are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country . . .; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat

[42] Karl Marx, *Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte aus dem Jahre 1844,* in *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe* (9 vols., Frankfurt am Main, 1927–33), Pt. I, III, 88.

[43] Professor Sidney Hook, the noted authority on Marxism, has written me as follows (letter of Jan. 26, 1964): "I do not remember any explicit discussion of the avant-garde in Marx and Engels. They assumed that *they* were the avant-garde. On their historical theory there would . . . have to be an avant-garde but they would hardly regard that as bestowing any special virtue on whoever happened to play that role since it would be a phase of historical necessity."

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the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march . . . of the proletarian movement.[44]

Here, certainly, is the idea of the political vanguard, now isolated from the artistic vanguard and already related directly to "the working class parties." In May of the same revolutionary year of 1848, a radical newspaper called *L'Avant-garde* was briefly published at Paris shortly before the outbreak of the abortive second revolution of that year in which Paris workingmen opposed the government of the new republic for swinging to the Right. By the 1880's, at least, Marxists were becoming accustomed to using avant-garde as a political term, one result being that during the 1890's numerous provincial French newspapers connected with the Marxist *Parti ouvrier* were either named *L'Avant-garde* or bore titles beginning with that word.[45] But, as was indicated early in this essay, it was Lenin who carried the Marxist conception of the party as constituting the political "vanguard" to its ultimate conclusion, while using the very word "avant-garde" itself. Lenin also went much further than Marx when, in practice, he endorsed, not "working class parties" in general, but a specific Communist party with special virtue as the one true political and social avant-garde; for in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels had carefully written: "The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties."[46]

The dominant place in the world Communist movement attained by the Soviet Communist party under Lenin after the triumph of the Bolsheviks in Russia was, of course, enhanced under the Marxism-Leninism of Stalin and his followers, even though the dominance of the Soviet party has of late been so strongly challenged by the party of Communist China. Yet in spite of the conflict between the USSR and Red China, the regimes of both countries continue to insist upon the aesthetic of socialist realism officially adopted under Stalin in 1934 as the basis for the only kind of art acceptable during what Marxist-Leninists, following Marx, call the "Socialist" period of transition to complete Communism.[47] For if the Soviet regime and party were to modify significantly the doctrine of socialist realism in the interest, say, of "peaceful coexistence" with "capitalist" nations, obviously

[44] Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* in *Handbook of Marxism,* ed. Burns, 37.

[45] See Claude Willard, *Les Guesdistes: Le Mouvement socialiste en France, 1893–1905* (Paris, 1965), 685, 687, 690, 691, 698.

[46] Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* in *Handbook of Marxism,* ed. Burns, 37.

[47] What Marxist-Leninists call "Socialism," however, Marx had generally referred to as a lower stage preceding that "higher phase of communist society," the future complete Communism of the classless society. (See especially Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* written in 1875 but unpublished until Engels brought it to light and published it in the original German in *Die neue Zeit,* IX, No. 18 [undated, but Engels' preface, written at London, bears the date January 6, 1891].)

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they would be giving the Red Chinese even more opportunity to attack them as "revisionists" of orthodox Marxism-Leninism.

Since under such Marxism-Leninism a Communist party, in theory at least, leads and controls all fields of thought, imagination, and action, socialist realism requires artists to devote all their works worthy of public display to social goals, as Saint-Simon had urged. Under socialist realism, however, artists play a thoroughly subordinate role in clear contrast to that position as leaders of society ascribed to them by Saint-Simon and his followers. And it is a role that also contrasts with the conception of artistry held by the young Marx in the days when he was still strongly influenced by Saint-Simonianism.

The Marxist conception of the party as vanguard, already implicit in the *Communist Manifesto,* could hardly be expected to appeal to the Romantic individualism of most avant-garde artists under any ordinary circumstances. The result was that for a long time the anarchists, as ideological descendants of Fourier rather than of Saint-Simon, attracted the artistic avant-garde far more than the Marxists, while taking over the term avant-garde for themselves. For the anarchists, in their opposition to centralized governments and parties, allowed much more room for individualistic expression, so that under anarchism the conception of the vanguard could be more directly related to modern arts than under later Marxist and Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Where the Marxists exploited the Saint-Simonian socioartistic conception of the avant-garde merely in politics and economics, many anarchists paid much attention to both political economy and the arts as important for progress under the leadership of the avant-garde. Ordinarily they did not insist, in contrast to the Marxists and Marxist-Leninists, that artists must devote their art solely to social ends; the anarchists were much more willing to allow revolutionary politics and art to be kept separate. It was on this account that anarchism could appeal to some artists and writers, such as Wilde, who nonetheless believed in art for art's own sake.

Wilde particularly admired the famous Russian-born anarchist, Peter Kropotkin. In the late 1870's Kropotkin had been the coeditor of an anarchist periodical in Switzerland called *L'Avant-garde.* Although this was essentially a sociopolitical magazine, Kropotkin himself was greatly interested in new and old art as well as in revolutionary politics. From childhood he had drawn and painted; he was also a pianist who so loved both modern and classical music that he wrote in his autobiography: "Music . . . played a very great part in my development."[48] His ideas, both social and artistic,

[48] Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (Boston, 1889), 119.

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soon affected many artists and writers, including the group of French painters known as the neo-impressionists, whose leaders—Georges Seurat, Paul Signac, Maximilien Luce, and the former impressionist, Camille Pissarro—were anarchists.[49]

As all students of art history know, the neo-impressionists were concerned with depicting the real world of the senses in which men and society exist, by making use of scientific laws of light and color to depict objects in light as they seem to human vision. At first the neo-impressionists were also much concerned with the question of devoting their art to social purposes. This affected their art theory more than their practice, however, and their drawings reproduced in anarchist periodicals far more than their paintings, which, apart from those of Luce, were hardly radical in subject matter. In addition, as anarchists they were possessed by a spirit of individualism which, after the 1880's, led most of them to move considerably nearer to art for art's sake. Yet they did this at the very time when the anarchist movement and their own interest in it were alike becoming strongest and most militant, so that their change of subject matter did not at all mean that they were deserting the anarchist cause. They themselves were aware of the developing split between their social views and the subjects of their works of art, and they worried about it; yet nearly all of them instinctively felt that art must be much more than social propaganda.[50]

Before Seurat died in 1891, he had been moving away from attempting to represent the "real" world of the senses scientifically, toward expressing human emotions from a point of view quite similar to that of the movement among writers and artists known as symbolism, founded in 1885–1886. Like the neo-impressionists, most of the symbolists, including their chief figure, the poet Stéphane Mallarmé, were anarchists or sympathetic to anarchism.[51]

The symbolists separated their social views from their art, which was strongly influenced by the idea of art for art's sake. They believed that, in art, objects and activities of the world of the senses should serve simply as stimuli for personal expression, with the results of such expression becoming symbols of reality, not imitations of it. Their aim was to make a direct and autonomous appeal to the human spirit like that made by music, an aim

[49] Eugenia W. Herbert, *The Artist and Social Reform: France and Belgium, 1885–1898* (New Haven, Conn., 1961), 184 ff.

[50] Signac, for instance, one of the most wholehearted anarchists of the neo-impressionist group, always refused to have art saddled with a social message that would jeopardize its artistic essence. (See *ibid.*, 191.) As Herbert notes, Luce, the member of the group who came from the most proletarian background, was the only one with no qualms about producing purely propagandistic art.

[51] Mallarmé, for example, was one of the several avant-garde writers and artists who were found to be subscribers to the leading French anarchist magazine, *La Révolte*, when the police seized its subscription lists in 1894. (See *ibid.*, 21.)

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shared by that great neo-impressionist Seurat[52] shortly before he died.

The symbolist and anarchist sympathizer Mallarmé also became a member of a related group of painters and writers known as the synthetists. The leading painter of this group was Paul Gauguin, who had a family background of social radicalism because his grandmother, Flora Tristan, had been a noted revolutionary propagandist highly sympathetic to both Fourierism and Saint-Simonianism.[53] And Gauguin himself, who in 1887 began referring to his paintings as "synthetist-symbolic," had already become sympathetic to anarchism, and thereby had apparently been attracted to his anarchistic master, the impressionist and future neo-impressionist painter Pissarro.[54]

As the artistic influence of the neo-impressionists, the symbolists, and the synthetists spread among other avant-garde artists, so did their respective conceptions of themselves as constituting a vanguard in both art and social beliefs. In Mexico, for instance, the painter Dr. Atl (his real name was Gerardo Murillo), who was especially influenced by synthetism, was also an anarchist. In 1915, during the Mexican Revolution, Atl published an anarcho-syndicalist, and thus socially and politically revolutionary, workers' periodical called *La Vanguardia*. On its staff were the radical and revolutionary painters David Siqueiros and José Orozco, both of whom were then sympathetic to revolutionary anarchism. Presumably the only reason that Diego Rivera, that other future leading painter of the "Mexican Renaissance" was not on the staff of Atl's periodical was that he was then studying in Europe, where he had been sent with Atl's aid.[55] At that time Rivera, too, was an anarchist, although after the triumph of the Bolsheviks in Russia his social views led him, like Siqueiros, to Communism, whereas Atl's belief in both an elite vanguard and in nationalism[56] led him to sympathy for Fascism, in praise of which he eventually wrote frequent newspaper articles.

[52] Of Seurat, his friend and fellow anarchist the critic Gustave Kahn wrote how he had recently spoken of "trying to compare the progress of his art to that of musical arts, very concerned about finding a unity at the basis of his efforts and those of poets and composers." (See Gustave Kahn, "Seurat," *L'Art moderne*, Apr. 5, 1891, 107.)

[53] Henri Perruchot, *Gauguin*, tr. Humphrey Hale (Cleveland, 1963), 33.

[54] In 1882 the painter Pierre Renoir indicated, in a letter to his art dealer friend Paul Durand-Ruel, that he regarded Pissarro, Gauguin, and the impressionist Jean Guillaumin as socialists of an anarchist kind by mentioning them—especially Pissarro—together with the Russian anarchist Peter Lavrov. (See *ibid.*, 89.) Gauguin had become the pupil of Pissarro in 1876, but later broke with him on artistic grounds.

[55] For Atl and his socially radical influence on the leading avant-garde artists of the "Mexican Renaissance," see, e.g., Diego Rivera with Gladys March, *My Art, My Life* (New York, 1960), 47–49, and José Clemente Orozco, *An Autobiography*, tr. Robert C. Stephenson (Austin, Texas, 1962), *passim*.

[56] Atl's Mexican nationalism had even caused him to adopt his pseudonym, *atl* being the Nahuatl Indian word for water. Atl especially disliked his real name, Murillo, because it was the same as that of a famous "academic" painter of seventeenth-century Spain. (See Bernard S. Myers, *Mexican Painting in Our Time* [New York, 1956], 12.)

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It has often been said that, early in the twentieth century during sojourns in Europe, Atl had not only talked with Lenin in Switzerland, but had helped to bring out an anticlerical newspaper with a young Italian socialist of anarchistic inclinations named Benito Mussolini. Certainly in 1903, from his refuge in Switzerland, Mussolini had begun to collaborate with a revolutionary syndicalist weekly of Milan called *Avanguardia socialista.* Although there is apparently no documentary evidence whatever to support a direct connection between Atl and either Lenin or Mussolini,[57] it is nevertheless not impossible that Atl derived the title of his own anarcho-syndicalist paper, *La Vanguardia,* from the name of its Milanese predecessor with which that future originator of Fascism, Mussolini, had been connected.

Since symbolism and the related synthetist movement which strongly influenced Atl's paintings, and which also had anarchist connections, gave a particularly strong impetus to abstract tendencies in modern art, it is significant that so, too, did the great anarchist Kropotkin. In his *Paroles d'un révolté,* published at Paris in 1885 at the very time that the symbolist movement was getting under way and only two years before Gauguin referred to his own art as "synthetist-symbolic," Kropotkin had indicated that realism was inadequate for expressing the revolutionary idea still lacking in the art of his own day.[58] Hence it is doubly significant that so many writers and artists who in later years passed beyond the symbolists and synthetists toward greater abstraction in their works were likewise anarchists in their social views. Among them, for instance, were the Italian futurists (whose leader, Emilio Marinetti, later tried to persuade his friend Mussolini to adopt futurism as the official Fascist style). Among them, also, was that highly influential poet, critic, and moving spirit of avant-garde art, Guillaume Apollinaire.[59] Another was his good friend, the painter Picasso, cofounder

[57] For statements that Atl knew Lenin and Mussolini in Switzerland early in the twentieth century and collaborated with Mussolini in publishing an anticlerical newspaper, see *ibid.,* and Atl's obituary in *Time,* LXXIV (Aug. 28, 1964), 89. These two sources do not agree, however, as to the time at which these relationships occurred, respectively attributing them to two different visits by Atl to Europe. Myers, unable to recall the source for his own statement, referred me to the leading Mexican authority on the history of Mexican art, Dr. Justino Fernández. Fernández, who was well acquainted with Atl, replied, in a letter to me of June 2, 1967, that he knew of no documentation for the direct relationship of Atl with Lenin and Mussolini, and advised caution in accepting hearsay because Atl "had a brilliant imagination and talked about many things." As I have been unable to find any mention of Atl either in the writings and biographies of Mussolini or in the standard biographies of Lenin, the story of his personal connection with them was apparently a figment of his own imagination, but one that nonetheless indicates his social and political sympathies.

[58] Peter Kropotkin, *Paroles d'un révolté,* ed. Elisée Reclus (Paris, 1885), 58–60. Mussolini completed an Italian translation of this book late in 1903.

[59] Apollinaire was an anarchist from early years. (See Anthony Blunt and Phoebe Pool, *Picasso: The Formative Years* [New York, 1962], 23.)

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of cubism, who as a young frequenter of anarchist circles in Spain had published a magazine thoroughly anarchistic in spirit.[60]

The influence of anarchism on artists and writers thus reached its peak toward the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century during the very period when "modern" art was developing. When World War I broke out, the anarchist movement split over the issue of nationalism versus internationalism so sharply posed by the war, as the nonviolent, social democratic, version of Marxism did also. Before the end of the war, the Bolsheviks had triumphed in Russia, further reducing anarchism's strength as a leading international social movement. Only in Spain, which had escaped the war, did anarchists remain powerful until Communism began to dominate the Left during the Civil War, which ended in the triumph of fascism. Elsewhere, the influence of anarchism as a movement already had essentially disappeared. There were, however, exceptions: a vestigial anarchist magazine, the *Vanguard,* was published in New York as late as 1932–1939; a great British avant-garde critic of art and literature, Herbert Read, continued to hold to his fundamentally anarchist point of view;[61] and an anarchosyndicalist International founded in 1922–1923 still survives in Toulouse. Furthermore, the New Left that developed after World War II has been influenced by anarchism as well as by Marxism, one consequence being that some anarchists have been prominent in the movement attacking American policy in Vietnam.

Most of the avant-garde artists and writers who were sympathetic to anarchism before World War I were drawn to Communism after the triumph of the Bolsheviks indicated that a far more effectively organized movement was ready to lead the Left in social revolution and peace throughout the world. Among such artists were Signac,[62] whose son-in-law Marcel Cachin was a founder of the French Communist party, and the Mexican painters Rivera and Siqueiros. Many of the artists participating in the dada and surrealist movements likewise became Communists in the decade following the war. When the Great Depression, which the Soviet Union seemed to have avoided, was followed by the popular front against fascism, led by the USSR, more avant-garde artists and writers than ever before

[60] With a friend, Picasso set out in 1901 to produce in Barcelona a review, *Arte joven,* Picasso being art editor. Only two numbers were published. The tone throughout, revolutionary and violent, was essentially anarchistic. (See *ibid.,* 11, and fig. 60.)

[61] Read felt the influence of the anarchists Pierre Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, and especially Kropotkin, a selection of whose writings he published at London in 1942. He was, however, stimulated by a wide variety of other social thinkers, including Marx, Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris, and Sorel. (See his autobiographical writings, *The Innocent Eye* [New York, 1947], esp. 140–42, 240, and *The Contrary Experience: Autobiographies* [New York, 1963].)

[62] See David Caute, *Communism and the French Intellectuals* (New York, 1964), 346–47.

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either joined Communist parties or as antifascists accepted Communist leadership. In France, for instance, in 1936 the Communists claimed that the greatest avant-garde artists and writers were marching beside the party, listing not only such Communists and close sympathizers as the artists Jean Lurçat and Fernand Léger and the writers Louis Aragon, André Gide, Romain Rolland, and André Malraux but others who were merely conspicuous antifascists such as the great architect Le Corbusier (a belated Fourierist), Jean Renoir, motion-picture director and son of the famous painter, and the noted novelist Jules Romains.[63]

Still later, during World War II, the leading role played by Communists in the resistance movements within countries occupied by the Nazis attracted other antifascist artists of the avant-garde, including that former anarchist, Picasso. In October 1944 Picasso joined the French Communist party and promptly sent the following cable to the *New Masses,* the American Communist cultural magazine, in words taken from an interview soon to be published in the French Communist newspaper, *L'Humanité:*

> I have become a Communist because the Communists are the bravest in France, in the Soviet Union, as they are in my own country, Spain. . . . In it [the French Communist party], I find all my friends—the great scientists . . . , the great writers [and former surrealists] Louis Aragon and Paul Eluard, and so many of the beautiful faces of the insurgents of Paris.[64]

One might appropriately add here that a prewar Communist periodical in France named *L'Avant-garde,* founded in 1920, had been issued as an underground publication during the German occupation, and it continued after France was liberated.

As a faithful Communist, Picasso and the kind of abstract art that he stands for inevitably placed the Russian leaders in a profound dilemma that has persisted to this day. For the Soviet regime, rejecting abstract art as incomprehensible to the masses, has continued to uphold socialist realism as part of orthodox Marxism-Leninism, regarded as the one true avant-garde social and political philosophy. Yet the leaders in the Soviet Union have also felt the need for their country to play a culturally avant-garde role on the world stage. But throughout the non-Communist Western world socialist realism has lacked the aura of avant-gardism that realism possessed in Courbet's day, and has always been regarded by the artistic avant-garde as being in form and technique a thoroughly reactionary kind of art, one essentially academic in spirit. As a consequence, it has been almost constantly rejected by Picasso and others among the most talented Communist artists

[63] *L'Humanité,* Nov. 1, 1936. The claim was made by Paul Vaillant-Couturier, the chief French Communist spokesman on cultural affairs.

[64] *New Masses,* LIII (Oct. 24, 1944), 11; see also *L'Humanité,* Oct. 29–30, 1944.

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whose publicity value for world Communism is so great. The result has been a continuing split between Soviet domestic policy on the arts and Soviet foreign policy. Thus, in September 1961 Premier Nikita Khrushchev made a point of publicly laughing at a recent painting by Picasso displayed in a French exhibition at Moscow's Sokolniki Park;[65] yet on the following May Day the artist was awarded a Lenin Peace Prize[66] as a sop to international opinion.

This artistic dilemma has only been aggravated by the struggle between the Soviet Union and Red China for dominance in the world Communist movement, and therefore between the conflicting political vanguards within that movement. (Significantly, the official publication of the small pro-Chinese faction of the Australian Communist party has been named the *Vanguard*.) It was, in fact, because the Red Chinese accused Khrushchev of being a "revisionist" dangerous to true Marxism-Leninism that in 1962–1963 he conducted an eight-month campaign against abstract art and artists in the Soviet Union in an effort to demonstrate his orthodoxy. Late in 1963 the noted Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich, as an official spokesman, followed up that campaign by solemnly warning a meeting of the Soviet Artists Union that "some artists with rather progressive convictions have succumbed to the baleful influence of avant-gardism."[67] Khrushchev's successors, too, have continued this attitude toward avant-garde art: three months after his downfall they issued through *Pravda* a blunt public warning against "so-called progressive trends in art" and against "digressions from realism."[68] Also, at the Twenty-third Congress of the Soviet Communist party in March 1966, attended by observers from Communist and allied parties of eighty-six countries, First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev flatly indicated that the party would continue to direct literature and the arts in the USSR as before[69]—its policy to this day.

Soviet leaders continue to be faced with the dilemma between avant-gardism in politics regarded as good in accordance with Lenin's political doctrine of "the party as vanguard," and avant-gardism in art regarded as bad, particularly within the Soviet Union itself. In addition to repressing abstract art within the USSR, this dichotomy has necessarily continued to face those avant-garde artists sympathetic to Communism who live in coun-

[65] New York *Times*, Sept. 10, 1961; also New York *Herald Tribune*, Sept. 5, 1961. Picasso's picture was entitled "Nude Woman under a Pine Tree."

[66] New York *Times*, May 1, 1962.

[67] Quoted in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 16, 1964, 38.

[68] New York *Times*, Jan. 10, 1965, quoting from an editorial in *Pravda*, Jan. 9, 1965.

[69] New York *Times*, Mar. 30, 1966. Brezhnev declared: "we are invariably guided by the principles of the partisanship of art." In other words, in art as in politics, the Communist party line must still be the ultimate measure of worth.

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tries of the "free" world with a related dilemma. The words of Picasso quoted earlier—"I don't try to advise the Russians on economics. Why should they tell me how to paint?"—indicate clearly the nature of that dilemma which for years led fellow Communists to demand repeatedly that Picasso devote his art to forwarding Communist goals, to sheer propaganda under the tenets of socialist realism. As recently as 1964, because the Soviet Union so desperately needed the support of as many foreign Communists as possible in its bitter ideological conflict with China, the Soviet Communist party officially admitted the equality of the various Communist nations and parties by accepting the concept of "polycentrism" first put forward by the Italian Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, a few months after the downgrading of Stalin's reputation by Khrushchev early in 1956. Yet although in recent years, as a consequence of the spread of polycentrism, Picasso and other non-Soviet abstract artists sympathetic to Communism have in practice at last been left essentially free to pursue their art according to their own lights,[70] in theory they still are expected to accept party discipline upon demand.

Today, then, the problem that arose when Saint-Simon first applied avant-garde simultaneously to socially radical artists and to leaders of political and social radicalism continues to have repercussions. Although art is not politics, man is a social being, and even the artist has to live in society to some degree, a fact particularly emphasized by the repeated world crises of the twentieth century. If, faced by such crises, the avant-garde artist accepts what Picasso and other artists sympathetic to the political Left regard as the only effective avant-garde social and political leadership—the Marxist-Leninist brand of Communism—his dilemma, though today less acute, remains in the end insurmountable. For even with the rise of polycentrism within the Communist world, artists who are party members must, in theory at least, remain ready to sacrifice the kind of personal expression so vital for contemporary avant-garde art to the political aims of the party.

Yet, meanwhile, in the postwar atmosphere of hostility among Western nations to Soviet polices, the reactionary attitude of the Soviet regime toward avant-garde art in the USSR has driven an increasing number of non-Communist governments toward the assumption, already stimulated by opposition to Nazi policies in the arts, that artistic avant-gardism might be a

[70] Picasso and his art were officially praised by the French Communist party in a remarkable birthday greeting, signed by the secretary-general of the party, on the front page of *L'Humanité* at the time of his eighty-fifth birthday in 1966. This was a few days before two huge official exhibitions of his works were scheduled to open at the Grand and Petit Palais, Paris.

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symbol of democracy in the free world. As a consequence, in most Western countries at a time when the concept of liberty itself has in many spheres become hardly more than a doctrine of self-expression, the artistic avant-garde has been increasingly sought out and, at least in theory, supported as part of official culture to a degree never even remotely approximated before. In Western Europe, in particular, the hostility between avant-garde and "establishment," and therefore between the artist on the one hand and the "bourgeoisie" and the academic tradition on the other, has of late been rapidly disappearing.

Partly as a consequence, today in the Western world few avant-garde artists are interested in either the Soviet or Chinese brands of Communism any more than they are in the artistically reactionary kind of social realism still officially demanded of artists in both the Soviet Union and Red China. Certainly this is true today of the practitioners of those two recent avant-garde styles known respectively as pop art and op (for optical) art. Of the two, pop art, also known as neo-dada and the New Realism, reflects in its more dadaist aspects, at least, an artistically anarchistic kind of nihilism rather than the influence of any kind of socialism or communism. The original dada movement had reacted so intensely against bourgeois society as responsible for World War I that many dadaists then were led to become Communists at a time when the development of socialist realism as the official Soviet line on art was still well in the future. But neo-dada has no such political interests; it is far from being a social or socialist realism. For although much of its subject matter consists of everyday mass-produced objects depicted with the utmost realism, they are so juxtaposed or multiplied or blown up in size as to give rise to subjectively personal contexts that are entirely different from those of everyday objective "reality." So ambiguous, in fact, are the contexts, that in art of this kind, ever since the rise of the original dada movement, ambiguity has been a primary expressive means. Consequently, in contrast to the art of socialist realism, any intent to convey a direct message to the masses in order to foster social aims has been rejected.

Such total absence of an immediate political or other social message is almost equally characteristic of op art. This also makes use of psychological ambiguities, though in it these arise primarily from puzzling visual phenomena, such as optical illusions, usually geometrically presented in a non-objective way and often based on a more scientific, and thus essentially impersonal and rational, application of the laws of vision. Its relatively "scientific" approach has stimulated some Marxian artists outside of the Soviet Union, artists more or less sympathetic to some kind of New Left and

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opposed to socialist realism, to become practitioners of op art, particularly in connection with that movement known as New Tendencies and then as New Tendency. This takes its name from three international exhibitions held under those titles at Zagreb, capital of Croatia, in 1961, 1963, and 1965, respectively. In these exhibitions Yugoslav artists have been joined by artists from Western Europe, not all of them Marxists, and in 1965 by three non-Marxist American artists and a group of nonobjective Soviet artists not allowed to exhibit publicly and officially in the USSR.[71] In connection with the exhibition of 1963 at Zagreb a Marxian interpretation of abstract art was offered in print by a young Yugoslav art critic responsible for the exhibition and at the same time by a joint declaration of two Marxian artists from Paris strongly influenced by op art and its scientific attitude.[72] In effect all three stated that there are a good abstract art and a bad abstract art; hence official Soviet critics, as upholders of socialist realism, were only half right in condemning all abstract art. The three also indicated that the same Russian critics had misunderstood both Marx and Lenin in espousing socialist realism. This point of view expounded in Yugoslavia therefore would be regarded as "revisionist" by more orthodox Marxist-Leninists, and thus by the socialist realists of the Soviet Union and Red China. In Zagreb, on the contrary, it is regarded as at once Marxist and avant-garde.

The development of considerable freedom among Yugoslav artists in recent years has been paralleled in economics by emphasis on workers' self-management and in politics by the developing efforts, made even within the Yugoslav regime itself, toward a reform of the League of Communists, as the Communist party is called. Under this proposed reorganization the league would no longer be a political party with separate party interests and would not theoretically be limited to the working class; it would comprise all "progressive" people. While continuing to lead and influence, it

[71] The American artists—Ernest Benkert, Francis Hewitt, and Edwin Mieczkowski—were members of the Anonima Group, from New York and Cleveland, who value the results of collaboration more than individual distinction. Within the group, nevertheless, they make allowance for individual ideological differences, and they also reject the artist's political protests as utterly irrelevant. The Soviet group, known as *Dvizheniye* (movement), was founded at Moscow in 1962, stimulated by photographs of nonobjective works made by the famous Russian-born but expatriate artist Naum Gabo in the 1930's. (Gabo, who left Russia in 1922, now lives in Connecticut.) Two exhibits by *Dvizheniye* artists have been held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, though apparently none in the USSR. At Zagreb in 1965, not actual works by these Soviet artists but only photographs of them could be exhibited. Douglas MacAgy and Edward Fry provided information on the group. Matko Meštrović has generously supplied me with a copy of *Nova Tendencija 3,* catalogue of the 1965 New Tendency exhibition at Zagreb, in which photographs of four works by members of *Dvizheniye* are reproduced as figures 19–22.

[72] The Yugoslav art critic was Meštrović. Of the two artists from Paris, one, François Morellet, was a member of a group that has reflected the scientific attitude of op art in its very name, *Groupe de recherche d'art visuel.* The other artist, Hungarian-born François Molnar, though not actually a member of that group, has a similar approach to art.

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would be separated from administrative control of the government and economy, and correspondingly also from control of any of the arts. Because the original Marxist conception of the working class as vanguard and the Marxist-Leninist conception of the party as vanguard would both thus be enormously modified, however, this reform, though it has been studied for some years by the regime itself, has not been put into effect primarily because of the continuing opposition internally of old-line Yugoslav partisans and externally of the Soviet Union.[73]

In non-Communist countries, as could be expected, a situation for the avant-garde quite different from that in Yugoslavia as well as from those in the Soviet Union and Red China, has come to prevail. The Communist parties of non-Communist countries essentially have given up urging the now relatively few artists with Communist sympathies to practice socialist realism on the Soviet or Chinese model, and organizations of the New Left have shown decreasing interest in any specific form of art except folk singing. In addition, not only has any direct social message vanished in the works of such avant-garde movements as op art and pop art, but, in contrast to earlier avant-garde artists, nearly all of the leading artists of the West who have originated or developed these movements are no longer alienated from "bourgeois capitalist" society. Now that in most countries of the West the avant-garde is being officially wooed as part of official culture, the very conception of avant-garde art is therefore fundamentally changing, a fact apparently first pointed out in print as recently as 1963.[74] For in the Western world the traditional contrast and conflict between the avant-garde artist on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and official establishment on the other—that contrast and conflict so long basic to the very idea of avant-garde —are rapidly being abolished.

In conclusion, it is clear that social radicalism and artistic radicalism both long detested "bourgeois society" for often overlapping, if largely different,

[73] The "theses" for the reorganization of the Yugoslav party, under study by the regime for several years, were supposed to be published in 1966. They have been delayed not only by specifically political opposition but by rivalries between the Serbs, the Croats, and other groups within the Yugoslav confederation. Also, the reformers themselves do not agree on what the results of the reform should be. In addition to the belief that the party should survive as an advisory goad to society, there are the views that it should soon wither away completely or that instead it should be replaced by a multiparty system. Meanwhile, although all these possibilities are discussed, they still rank as heresies. (See the *Christian Science Monitor,* June 9, 1967, and the New York *Times,* July 16, 1967.)

[74] It was pointed out then by William C. Seitz, at that time associate curator of New York's Museum of Modern Art, in an article entitled "The Rise and Dissolution of the Avant-Garde," published in *Vogue,* Sept. 1, 1963, 182 ff. Seitz believes that he was the first to make this point, which a year later was emphasized again by the London *Times Literary Supplement,* in two issues entitled "The Changing Guard," respectively dated August 6 and September 3, 1964.

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reasons, which, in so far as they have overlapped, have frequently led to joint opposition to the bourgeoisie. It is also clear that the regime in the USSR, though radical in theory, has in fact for years been postrevolutionary and as a consequence has had no more use for artistic radicalism or protest within the Soviet Union than for any other kind of opposition. In Yugoslavia, on the contrary, some artists and critics, at least, stimulated and supported by artists from the West including some Marxists, have developed, and exhibited with official approval, "scientific" kinds of abstract art. These they regard as based on a development of Marxian theory, and so as both artistically radical and socially radical, even while essentially lacking the element of protest against the particular society there at a time when studies for a diminishing administrative role of the Yugoslav party have been under way with the approval of the regime.

Such facts account for the seeming paradox that while the artistic avant-garde in the theoretically radical Soviet Union is still being repressed to art's harm by an official and artistically academic establishment, in Yugoslavia most members of the artistic avant-garde are officially accepted within a socially radical society.[75] At the same time, in the supposedly bourgeois West the traditional conception of the avant-garde as antibourgeois, and thus radical socially as well as artistically, is being thoroughly questioned. For in the West the overlapping social and artistic reasons that brought about the origins of the avant-garde even before Saint-Simon gave it its name have almost completely vanished—and by no means entirely to the benefit of art itself.[76]

[75] It should be emphasized that to date this holds true far more for practitioners of the visual arts than for those of literature in Yugoslavia. Also, even in the visual arts not all non-objective artists yet receive the encouragement of being allowed public, hence officially recognized, exhibitions.

[76] See the article of the well-known British art critic, Douglas Cooper, "Establishment and Avant-Garde," in the above-cited issue of the London *Times Literary Supplement,* Sept. 3, 1964, 823–24. Cooper, whose field is modern art, declared (p. 824): "The official culture-mongers of the 1950's and 1960's . . . are perhaps more disastrously misguided, though for totally different reasons," than "their predecessors of whom they are so ashamed." "Their folly has been to think that by cultivating novelty for novelty's sake they are marching with the avant-garde. . . . Worse still, in order to launch the cult of Modernismus, officialdom has made an unholy alliance with vested interests in the form of promoters, bankers, journalists, dealers, publishers and the like. Thus novel effects and money have nowadays become the primary considerations associated with excellence. . . ." That this last has indeed become the case was borne out in the summer of 1967 by full-page advertisements for a new, expensive, bimonthly American periodical called *Avant-Garde.* (See, e.g., the advertisement in the New York *Times Book Review,* July 23, 1967, 26.) Unlike earlier publications with that name, this one is not to be limited either to an avant-garde sociopolitical point of view or to that of avant-garde art (as represented quite recently, for instance, by *L'Avant-garde esthétique,* founded at Paris in 1962). Instead, the advertisements for the new periodical have described it as "a forward-directed, daring, and wildly hedonistic magazine [which] will report on every aspect of the ebullient new life-style now emerging in America. . . . *Avant-Garde* . . . will be the *voice* of the Turned-On Generation."

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An Immigrant Group's Interest in Progressive Reform: The Case of the German-American Catholics

PHILIP GLEASON*

AMONG the questions raised, but not yet settled, by recent scholarship on progressivism is the degree of participation by immigrant groups in the movement for social reform.[1] Indeed, the question has not only not been settled, but very little has been done to investigate it in a concrete way. By examining the sources of interest in reform in one group that did become actively involved in the social question—German-American Catholics—I hope to bring the general problem into sharper focus. More specifically, the investigation will show that the student who tackles this subject must be prepared to deal with issues that seem at first to have no relation whatever to American progressivism. For while the interest of the German-American Catholics in social reform can only be understood in the larger context of American Catholic history, close attention to questions of ethnic identity and generational transition, to organizational sociology, to cultural influences from Europe, and to the role of personal leadership is also required. Before going into these matters, however, I must say a little about the extent of German-American Catholic involvement in the movement of progressive reform.

In 1901 the national federation of German-American Catholic societies, an organization called the Central-Verein, pledged itself to champion "the principles laid down by Leo XIII in his encyclical on labor" and spelled out

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[1] See J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLIX (Sept. 1962), 231–41. Richard M. Abrams and Lawrence W. Levine find Huthmacher's argument that immigrant groups were more actively involved in progressivism than is usually thought "unconvincing." (See *The Shaping of Twentieth-Century America: Interpretive Articles,* ed. Richard M. Abrams and Lawrence W. Levine [Boston, 1965], 347.)

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its stand in a twelve-point program of "Social Political Action."[2] The following year the Central-Verein established a subordinate organization called the Volksverein to carry out its social program. The Volksverein did not prove successful, but in 1908 a special office was set up in St. Louis to direct the Central-Verein's social reform activities. This Central Bureau published the bilingual *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* the first Catholic magazine in the United States to make social problems and reform its primary interest. The Central Bureau also issued pamphlets on timely issues, established a press service on social reform topics for Catholic newspapers, sponsored lecture tours and social study courses, and established a day nursery for the children of working mothers in St. Louis. In addition, the bureau worked energetically to stimulate social reform activities on the part of the Central-Verein's member societies. Within a few years the Central-Verein was recognized as the most socially conscious of American Catholic organizations, and Frederick P. Kenkel, the able director of its Central Bureau, had won a leading position among Catholic social theorists and reformers. Kenkel continued in this work until his death in 1952, and the Central-Verein, which is now called the Catholic Central Union, still exists.

This systematic dedication to social reform is surprising in a group that was consistently conservative just a few years earlier. For despite the ambiguities of terminology, there can be no doubt that the Germans were on the conservative side in the ideological disputes that rocked the Catholic community in the 1880's and 1890's and that they resolutely opposed the tendencies described by Robert D. Cross as characterizing "the emergence of liberal Catholicism in America."[3] The dedication to reform becomes even more puzzling when we consider that the Central-Verein was not a society newly formed for the explicit purpose of attacking the social question and appealing primarily to those who were already convinced of the need for reform. Rather, it was already forty-five years old before it turned its atten-

[2] *Sechsundvierzigste General-Versammlung des Deutschen Römisch-Katholischen Central-Vereins in den Ver.* [*sic*] *Staaten von Nord-Amerika, gehalten in Bridgeport, Conn., am 8., 9., 10., 11. u. 12. Sept. 1901* (Covington, Ky., 1901), 70–76, 108 [convention proceedings hereafter cited as *General-Versammlung* . . . with appropriate numbers and years]. Philip Gleason, "The Central-Verein, 1900–1917: A Chapter in the History of the German-American Catholics," doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1960, provides details on the points developed in this paper; see also *id.*, "The Social Reform Activities of the Central Bureau, 1909–1917," *Social Justice Review,* LIV (Dec. 1961; Jan. 1962), 263–67, 301–304, and "The Early Years of Frederick P. Kenkel: The Background of an American Catholic Social Reformer," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* LXXIV (Dec. 1963), 195–212.

[3] See Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1953); Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895–1900* (Chicago, 1957).

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tion to social reform, and its membership was made up of ordinary members of German Catholic benevolent societies and insurance fraternals. It was established in 1855, and before 1900 its activities and interests resembled those of other immigrant societies. Although it was not the most active of the German Catholic societies in the controversies of the 1880's and 1890's, it shared the conservative position of the German group as a whole. The problem, therefore, is to account for the interest in the social question among German-American Catholics, and especially to explain why social reform was made the primary mission, indeed, the ostensible *raison d'être,* of their national organization after 1900.

It is my contention that these developments can best be understood as a response to a critical phase in the process of assimilation of the German-American Catholics at the turn of the century. The factors that precipitated the Central-Verein's involvement in the social question reflect the situation of a group midway in the process of Americanization. These factors may be listed briefly under five headings: First, as more members of the second generation reached maturity the German-American Catholics became more responsive to influences at work in American society. Second, they were, however, still strongly conscious of their German heritage, and the social reform program was inspired in part by the example of Catholics in Germany. Third, their experience in the bitter controversies of the 1880's and 1890's also played a part in disposing them to take an interest in the social question. The last two factors, involving the organizational needs of the Central-Verein and the social reform concerns of individual leaders, were also important. The specific influences that fall under these general headings are examined in the following pages.

The American social environment is perhaps the most obvious of the forces that influenced the Central-Verein's interest in social reform. The "quest for social justice" was a dominant theme in American life during the progressive era. Theodore Roosevelt dramatized the commitment to reform at the highest level of government; progressivism was a powerful force in the states and cities; and the muckraking exposure of social ills was the newest fashion in popular journalism. American Catholics, Germans included, were moved by the ground swell of reform that penetrated nearly all sectors of society; it was during these years that Father John A. Ryan emerged as the first Catholic leader of national stature whose reputation rested exclusively on his identification with social reform.[4]

The great upsurge of Socialist activity in the progressive period was the

[4] See Francis L. Broderick, *Right Reverend New Dealer: John A. Ryan* (New York, 1963).

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most important single element in the currents of reform that influenced German-American Catholics to become interested in the social question. The formation of the Socialist party of America in 1901 brought some measure of unity to the movement, and optimism mounted among Socialists as they saw the membership grow throughout the decade. The Socialist presidential vote increased almost tenfold between the elections of 1900 and 1912. In the words of David Shannon, socialism seemed "destined to become a major force in American life."[5] Few American Catholics, however, could regard "the rising tide of socialism" with detachment; in their fear of the movement, they doubtless exaggerated its real strength.[6] To counteract the threat of socialism, Catholics embarked upon a veritable crusade against it. Their press resounded with denunciations, meetings of Catholic organizations featured critiques of socialism, and Catholics in the labor movement fought fiercely to prevent the AFL from falling into the hands of the comrades. Since there was still a strong German tincture to socialism in several strongholds, the Central-Verein was particularly sensitive to the need for social enlightenment so that "all [could] refute with clearness the sophisms of socialism," whose "syren [*sic*] voice" was tempting "even Catholic laborers . . . from the path of safety."[7]

German Catholics in Wisconsin, Indiana, Arkansas, and Missouri expressed serious concern about the threat of socialism and were ready to take a hand in opposing it. To offset the inroads of socialism, parish workingmen's societies were organized by German Catholics in St. Louis, Dubuque, and Buffalo. There was also a more broadly based "Christian Reform Society" in Buffalo, composed of a varied group of German Catholics. Its activities, however, were not confined to the narrowly negative purpose of fighting socialism since its ultimate aim was to lead the German Catholic societies into the work of social reconstruction according to the principles of Rerum novarum. The leaders of this group were sought as speakers as far away as Chicago, and in 1901 one of them urged the Central-Verein to adopt on a nationwide scale the methods it was following locally

[5] David Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* (New York, 1955), 6; see also Howard H. Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism* (Columbia, S.C., 1953), Chaps. x, xi; Ira Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897–1912* (New York, 1952), Chaps. ii–vii; and Marvin Wachman, *History of the Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee, 1897–1910* (Urbana, Ill., 1945).

[6] R. F. Hoxie, "'The Rising Tide of Socialism,'" *Journal of Political Economy*, XIX (Oct. 1911), 609–31. For the Catholic reaction to socialism, see Aaron I. Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action* (New York, 1960), Chap. v; Mary Harrita Fox, *Peter E. Dietz, Labor Priest* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1953), 23 ff.; Marc Karson, *American Labor Unions and Politics, 1900–1918* (Carbondale, Ill., 1958), Chap. ix; Henry F. Bedford, *Socialism and the Workers in Massachusetts, 1886–1912* (Amherst, Mass., 1966), 181–96; and Robert E. Doherty, "The American Socialist Party and the Roman Catholic Church, 1901–1917," doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959.

[7] *47. General-Versammlung . . . 1902* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1902), 120.

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in Buffalo. After the national organization took up the social question, the work of combating socialism was so important an aspect of its activity that a speaker could claim in 1912 that "The Central-Verein is the principal bulwark in this country against the red specter of revolution, socialism."[8]

But while the German Catholics were sufficiently Americanized to be profoundly affected by the prevailing social ferment and swept along in the currents of reform, strong emotional links to the fatherland also made the example of German social Catholicism relevant to their awakening interest in the social question. Since the pioneering days of Bishop Wilhelm E. von Ketteler in the mid-nineteenth century, the Catholics of Germany had grown increasingly attentive to the social question.[9] After the Kulturkampf abated, they developed an extensive program of reform on both the practical and the theoretical levels. The proverbial German talent for organization was used by these Catholics. At the annual Catholic congresses (*Katholikentage*) representatives from specialized organizations of all social groups met to examine the pressing questions of the day. The Center party provided political leadership; the Christian trade-unions were created to offer the worker an alternative to the socialist-dominated free unions; and the *Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland,* organized in 1890 with an active Central Bureau in München-Gladbach, carried on intensive work in the fields of popular social education and antisocialist agitation.

So impressive was the social activity of Germany's Catholics that the papal representative at the 1903 *Katholikentag* exclaimed "Germania docet," and Pope Leo XIII himself referred to Bishop von Ketteler as his "great precursor." The German example was also hailed by English and American Catholics as a model for emulation. German-American Catholics were of course interested in developments in their old homeland. They felt the greatest admiration for Ludwig Windthorst and the other heroes of the Kulturkampf, and the association of Windthorst's name with the *Volksverein* was in itself sufficient warrant for the sort of work it was doing. The leaders of the Christian Reform Society in Buffalo were consciously patterning their approach after the system followed in Germany. And when Ernst Lieber, Windthorst's successor as leader of the Center party, visited a

[8] *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* IV (Mar. 1912), 276; see also Gleason, "Central-Verein," 145–49.

[9] See Charles J. Plater, *Catholic Social Work in Germany* (London, 1909); Theodor Brauer, "The Catholic Social Movement in Germany," in *Catholic Social Yearbook, 1932* (Oxford, Eng., 1932); Edgar Alexander, "Church and Society in Germany (1789–1950)," in *Church and Society,* ed. Joseph N. Moody (New York, 1953); Franz H. Mueller, "The Church and the Social Question," in *The Challenge of Mater et Magistra,* ed. J. N. Moody and J. G. Lawler (New York, 1963); Emil Ritter, *Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert und der Volksverein* (Cologne, 1954); and Karl Buchheim, *Ultramontanismus und Demokratie: Der Weg der deutschen Katholiken im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1963).

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German Catholic gathering in Milwaukee in 1898, he was asked to describe the methods of social action used in the fatherland.[10] Four years later, when the Central-Verein established a subordinate organization to carry on reform agitation, it borrowed not only the name but also the organizational structure from the *Volksverein* in Germany.

The example of social Catholicism in Germany thus provided a stimulus and warrant for interest in the social question, but the Central-Verein's more immediate heritage as a German-American Catholic society just emerging from an era of ethnic-religious controversy also played a powerful role. For although the reform interest was in keeping with the progressive impulse of the times it would be mistaken to assume that the Central-Verein was becoming "liberal." On the contrary, its tradition was one of opposition to all forms of liberalism, ranging from the anticlericalism of the German immigrants of 1848 to the social and procedural liberalism of the Catholic Americanizers. The Central-Verein's social program arose in this context, and it was influenced by the German Catholics' earlier conservatism. But since the continuity between the previous conservative stance and the social reform activity is not immediately obvious, we must explore this influence more fully than the factors already mentioned.

A fundamental issue in the disputes between the liberal and the conservative Catholics in the late nineteenth century concerned the relationship of the Church to American society and culture.[11] Catholic liberals like Archbishop John Ireland and Bishop John J. Keane held that Catholicism and American institutions were admirably suited to each other and that the future of the Church was more promising here than in the tradition-bound European states. But, to profit from its opportunity in the New World, the liberals argued that the Church must "Americanize" itself as completely as possible. The conservatives, on the other hand, had reservations about the easy compatibility of Catholicism and the American spirit. To them, flexibility suggested laxity, and accommodation to the new environment looked much like capitulation before the enemy. Fearful of the possible consequences of Americanization, they urged the preservation of the traditional forms of Catholic life and thought. German Catholics in particular were convinced that the surest bulwark to the immigrant's religion was the

[10] *46. General-Versammlung . . . 1901*, 17–20; *43. General-Versammlung . . . 1898* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1898), 161–63.

[11] In addition to the works of Cross, Barry, and McAvoy cited in note 3, above, see John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore* (2 vols., Milwaukee, Wis., 1952); James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (New York, 1953); Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (3 vols., Rochester, N. Y., 1925–27); Patrick H. Ahern, *The Life of John J. Keane, Educator and Archbishop* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1955); Daniel F. Reilly, *The School Controversy (1891–1893)* (Washington, D. C., 1943).

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maintenance of his traditional cultural heritage against the forces of Americanization.

Even after the disputes over Cahenslyism, the school question, and theological Americanism subsided, the German Catholics retained their conviction that the liberals were misguided in their enthusiasm for American institutions. The liberals were too complacent, too satisfied with the *status quo;* they glossed over the defects of American life and were insufficiently critical of the blemishes on the American scene. In short, according to this interpretation, the infatuated liberals believed that "We have no Social Question" in the United States.

If anything were needed to persuade the German-American Catholics that we most assuredly did have a social question, nothing could have served the purpose better than the belief that the Americanizers denied its existence. This, indeed, was their conviction, and they later took great pride in their entry into the work of social reform at a time when other Catholics were indifferent to the need for such activity. Central-Verein spokesmen never precisely identified who it was who said "We have no Social Question," but the evidence points to an article by Bishop Keane as the statement they had in mind.[12]

Keane's article, entitled "America as Seen from Abroad," appeared in the *Catholic World* in March 1898. It was not, however, a treatment of the social question as such; it was, rather, a document in the controversy over Americanism. Writing from Europe, Keane attempted to show that Catholics in the Old World misunderstood American Catholicism and its relation to American civilization because they were misled by false parallels between conditions in the United States and those in Europe. Thus European Catholics could not appreciate the true significance of the American separation of church and state, and they wrongly believed that the nation was dominated by a spirit "hopelessly Voltairean, infidel, [and] anti-Christian." Keane hoped to clear away these misunderstandings by interpreting the American situation more favorably (and as he saw it, more accurately); his ultimate aim was

[12] On March 29, 1898, Nicholas Gonner's *Luxemburger Gazette* (Dubuque) said that Keane's article proved the existence of "Americanism" and added: "According to Msgr. Keane, America is a wonderfully free and happy country where we have no problems to speak [of]; we have no racial question, no socialist question, no Jewish question, no labor question. . . ." (Quoted in Mary de Paul Faber, "The *Luxemburger Gazette,* A Catholic German Language Paper of the Middle West, 1872–1918," master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1948, 38.) Central-Verein leader Joseph Matt wrote in *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika,* ed. Max Heinrici (Philadephia, 1909), 711–12, merely that the statement was made by one "very close to the Catholic University of Washington." Keane was the first rector of the Catholic University. The most specific reference is in August F. Brockland, "Becoming Conscious of the Social Question," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* IV (June 1911), 51–52. Keane's article is cited there although he is not named as the author. Brockland says: "The sum and substance of the article . . . is: We have no Social Question." As Brockland's wording indicates, Keane made no such statement explicitly.

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to show how a wholly orthodox Catholic could at the same time be an enthusiastic "Americanist."[13]

Keane's efforts were lost on the German-American Catholics. The matter was most fully treated by the Reverend Doctor Anton Heiter at the Central-Verein's convention in 1901. Heiter, a prominent antisocialist controversialist and a leader of the Buffalo Christian Reform Society, urged the Central-Verein to take action on the social question, referring to the summons of Leo XIII and the example of the Catholics in Germany. Then, interrupting his discourse dramatically, he exclaimed: "But there I hear a noisy voice shout triumphantly, *'We have no social question.'*" Without identifying the source of the objection, Heiter ironically summarized the argument advanced in Keane's article. America's free institutions were invincible against the machinations of the socialists. The relations between church and state were "so wonderfully wise and perfectly ordered that it would be an unpardonable crime to disturb them. . . ." The incomparable American school system was the best in the world. Our industries ruled the world market, and workingmen enjoyed unparalleled benefits. Prosperity was coming "with all sails set," and the horn of plenty was overflowing on a people "reveling in abundance."[14]

To Heiter this sort of fatuous optimism betrayed complete insensitivity to the social question. But when he listed the symptoms of social sickness in the United States Heiter unconsciously revealed the continuity between the German Catholics' earlier conservatism and their interest in social reform. In enumerating social evils he laid less emphasis upon trusts, monopolies, strikes, and socialism than he did on the exclusion of religion from the realm of public affairs, the separation of church and state, and the irreligious public-school system. Although these aspects of American life were not usually considered proper objects of reform by progressives, the Central-Verein's twelve-point program of "Social Political Action," adopted at the same convention, followed closely the outline of Heiter's speech and endorsed his position on the school question and the exclusion of religion from public life.[15]

Thus the Central-Verein's formal adoption of the social reform mission occurred in a context of antiliberalism; it did not constitute a radical departure from its earlier conservative position. The underlying spirit was, indeed, very nearly the same in both cases. The German Catholics had

[13] John J. Keane, "America as Seen from Abroad," *Catholic World*, LXVI (Mar. 1898), 721–30; for a discussion of this article in the context of the Americanism controversy, see McAvoy, *Great Crisis*, 186–88.

[14] Heiter's speech is given in *46. General-Versammlung . . . 1901*, 17–20.

[15] *Ibid.*, 72–76.

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serious reservations about certain features of American civilization. In the 1880's and 1890's their defensive battle against the Americanizing tendencies of the liberal Catholics constituted a sort of apprenticeship in criticism of American weaknesses. After 1900 they launched a campaign to refashion American society along more agreeable lines. It would be absurd to say that the Central-Verein intended through social reform to reinstate the conditions the older generation had fought to preserve, but the same partial nonacceptance of American ways that inspired the earlier resistance to Americanism found a more positive outlet in the twentieth century in the effort to reconstruct society according to the principles of Christian social reform.

The fourth factor that helps explain why the Central-Verein embarked on a program of social reform was that this activity promised to serve an important functional need in the organizational life of German-American Catholics. The organizational problem, which reached the proportions of a crisis for the Central-Verein in the first years of the century, was a problem of generational transition. By 1900 the second generation was becoming the preponderant element in the German Catholic group.[16] Though the second generation was numerically significant long before 1900, the steady influx of new immigrants from Germany through the 1880's supplied continuous reinforcements for the first generation. The high level of ethnic consciousness and organizational activity that accompanied the battle against the Americanizing liberal Catholics, moreover, tended to mask the degree of *de facto* Americanization that was taking place among second-generation German Catholics. But with the virtual cessation of immigration from Germany after the mid-1890's, and with the ending of the controversies in 1899, the leaders of German Catholic organizations were faced by a crisis of generational transition.

One symptom of the change was the decline in the use of the German language, which became a matter of serious concern in the first decade of the present century.[17] As the oldest German Catholic society, and the only one of national scope, the Central-Verein was also affected by the changing attitudes and interests of the "young men"; its leaders were aware that the *Vereinswesen* (that is, the complex of associational life) was in a "period

[16] The census of 1900 enumerated some 2,600,000 German-born, as compared to 5,100,000 native whites of German parentage. No religious breakdown of these statistics is available, but there is no reason to assume that the second generation was relatively less sizable among German-American Catholics than among the German group as a whole. (See *Census Reports*, Vol. I, *Twelfth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1900, William R. Merriam, Director, Population* [2 pts., Washington, D. C., 1901], pt. 1, CXC, Table LXXXVIII.)

[17] See, e.g., *Herold des Glaubens* (St. Louis), Sept. 27, 1905, Feb. 14, 21, 1906, Mar. 17, Apr. 21, 1909; and E. Heimerschmid, "Das Deutschthum und der deutsche Unterricht an unseren Pfarrschulen," *Pastoral-Blatt* (St. Louis), XLVI (Jan. 1912), 3–10.

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of transition" and that survival demanded accommodation to the changing circumstances. The general problem took specific form in three peremptory organizational challenges that were successfully met by the Central-Verein in a thoroughgoing structural reorganization effected between 1900 and 1906.[18]

First, the organization cut itself free of the Widows and Orphans Fund, a life insurance subsidiary that had become an incubus because of its actuarial deficiencies and its aging membership. Second, the Central-Verein brought within its orbit a number of state federations of German Catholic societies. These federations had developed as independent associations in the 1890's and had earlier regarded the Central-Verein as somewhat old-fashioned and overly exclusive. By absorbing these state leagues the Central-Verein made itself *the* organizational vehicle for all those who thought of themselves as German-American Catholics. Finally, the Central-Verein met its third organizational challenge by successfully demanding a place within the newly formed American Federation of Catholic Societies as the national society representative of the German Catholics. When the federation was created in 1901, it had loomed as a threat because it seemed that the various German Catholic societies would join it before they had united among themselves. Such a procedure would be perilous, according to the thinking of the Central-Verein leaders, because it would leave the German Catholics "dismembered and cut to pieces" within an organization of English-speaking Catholics who had treated them unfairly only a few years before. While the Germans were now sufficiently Americanized to join forces with Catholics of other national backgrounds, the Central-Verein leaders were determined to do so only after taking the necessary precautions.

All of these difficulties were surmounted, and the *katholisches Deutschtum* was greatly strengthened by the reorganization. But a fundamental problem still remained. What was this newly invigorated federation of German-American Catholics to do? What task or mission was to serve as the focus of its organizational energies? Its real business, of course, was to provide a vehicle for the associational life of those who thought of themselves as German-American Catholics. But while this was, in sociological terms, its latent function, it also needed to have a manifest function—a task to which it could point and say, "This is the work that providence has designated for us German Catholics. Let us be up and doing." Here social reform again enters the picture.

Even before the above problems were solved, Nicholas Gonner, Central-Verein president from 1899 to 1902, sensed that social reform could serve as an appropriate manifest function for the organization, a function that

[18] For the Central-Verein's reorganization, see Gleason, "Central-Verein," Chap. III.

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would be more attractive to the Americanizing younger generation than the older function of providing mutual insurance and related benefits. Gonner did not use these terms, of course, but he perceived the reality. In calling for study of the social question in 1899, he pointedly remarked that such a move was not only timely but that it would "be of the greatest usefulness in invigorating" the *Vereinswesen*. Contrasting the "vegetating" condition of the *Vereinswesen* in this country with the flourishing state of the socially active Catholic societies in Germany, Gonner declared: "You may call me a dreamer [*traumhaften Politiker*] . . . but I tell you that . . . if the Central-Verein succeeds in demonstrating that we are of a mind to represent the economic needs of the people then the future is secure for us."[19]

Gonner seems to have hoped that the Volksverein für Amerika, which he launched as a social reform adjunct of the Central-Verein in 1902, could by itself overcome all the organizational difficulties facing the group. But the structural problems of the parent organization were too great, and the Volksverein proved abortive; it "went kaput," as Germans put it, after three years.[20] Once the reorganization was completed, however, the Central-Verein was prepared for a second effort at social reform. Gonner once again played a key role in the establishment of the Central Bureau in the years 1907–1908. Thereafter, this institution, located in St. Louis and directed by Kenkel, led the way in mounting a more lasting and successful social reform program.

Under Kenkel's direction the social reform campaign amply vindicated Gonner's prediction that such activity would galvanize the German Catholic societies into new life. Kenkel himself was aware of the relationship between reform work and organizational vigor. He wrote in 1914 that the Central-Verein would "probably resemble a dying tree" if it had not entered upon the social program.[21] The close identification between the organization's German Catholic character and its reform function was illustrated by a convention speaker in 1913. The Central-Verein had found the true solution to the social question, this gentleman asserted; its doctrine, therefore, had to be disseminated among the younger generation:

> The young German-American of today is to be the bearer of the standard for which his father . . . stood and fought, and to prepare him for this mission it becomes imperative . . . to conserve that German tradition, sentiment and feeling and to win the young German-American for the cause for which the Central-Verein stands.[22]

Thus far we have seen that the social reform activity of the German

[19] *44. General Versammlung . . . 1899* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1899), 21–22.
[20] On the Volksverein, see Gleason, "Central-Verein," 161–71.
[21] Frederick P. Kenkel, "Dem Andenken Franz Brandts," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, VII (Dec. 1914), 259.
[22] *58. General-Versammlung . . . 1913* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1913), 66–67.

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Catholics reflected the influence of contemporary American events, that the example of the fatherland was also involved, that it was not construed as a departure from the group's earlier conservative stance, and that it served an important organizational need. It remains only to say a few words about the role of personal leadership, for the influence of these abstract forces was mediated through the agency of individual persons.

Three men were instrumental in guiding the German-American Catholics into social reform: Nicholas Gonner, Father Peter E. Dietz, and Frederick P. Kenkel. Each was sensitive to the weaknesses of American society and convinced of the need for reform, but they differed widely in temperament, abilities, and in the role they played in the development of the work.

Gonner, an Iowa newspaper editor of Luxemburgian background, first pointed out the need for reform and suggested it as a likely enterprise for the Central-Verein. But, in spite of his prescience, Gonner was not really a strong leader; he lacked the force and ability to complete the job. Moreover, he overextended his energies in a number of journalistic and other undertakings. His principal contribution to the Central-Verein's social program lay in initially pointing the way.[23]

Father Dietz entered the picture in 1908. Then a young priest on the threshold of his career as a stormy petrel in the Catholic social movement, he was the most Americanized of the three, though all belonged to the second generation. He was almost wholly absorbed with the labor question, combining the position of trade-unionist with concern for the spiritual welfare of Catholic workingmen. He forcefully inserted himself into the policy-making level of the Central-Verein and goaded the organization into action on the social question. Dietz was far too impetuous to last long in an organization where generational and linguistic transition were such delicate matters, but the pressure he brought for immediate action furnished a powerful impetus to the social reform program.[24]

Kenkel, who could not get along with Dietz and who forced the latter's ouster in 1910, was the most complex and by far the most important of the three. A highly intelligent and cultivated man, Kenkel was also a good administrator and a dedicated worker. He shaped the Central-Verein's social philosophy and reform program and ran the Central Bureau for forty-three years. His concerns, however, were not primarily economic or political; rather they were aesthetic, moral, and religious. His interest in the social

[23] For Gonner's background, see Daniel F. Gebhardt, "A History of the Catholic Daily Tribune," master's thesis, Marquette University, 1953, Chaps. II–III. Gonner divided his time and energies between the Central-Verein, the American Federation of Catholic Societies, and three newspapers with which he was associated.

[24] See Fox, *Peter E. Dietz*, Chaps. I, II; and Gleason, "Central-Verein," 214–23.

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question was grounded in a profound personal experience of spiritual alienation from the modern world. Like the early German Romantics, he was tremendously attracted by the Middle Ages—a society that was a true organic community.[25] The social reform philosophy of "solidarism" that he adopted from Catholic theorists in Germany and Austria had as its ultimate aim the reconstruction of American society along corporative lines. Again the earlier conservatism of the German-American Catholics emerges in a new modulation. The essentially conservative character of Kenkel's social thought was obscured during the progressive period by the stringency of his criticism of the evils existent in American society. Nonetheless, the fundamental inspiration may be found in a romantic vision of the medieval *Gemeinschaft* society, which was hierarchically ordered according to vocational estates.

By way of summary and conclusion, it may be said that the involvement of the German-American Catholics in social reform represented a highly creative response to a critical phase of the process of assimilation. Social reform was an activity that brought them into fruitful organized contact with timely movements in American society, but it simultaneously permitted them to draw on a new strain of their German heritage. It mobilized the interests of the younger generation who were alive to the currents of the life around them and especially concerned over the advances of socialism. It provided a new justification for the existence of their ethnic organizations at a time when such justification was sorely needed. On the highest plane of abstraction, it represented an attempt to reformulate the symbolism of ethnic loyalty on the level of a universal ideology.[26] That is to say, loyalty to the German-American Catholic group and its tradition was to be manifested not so much through preservation of the ancestral language and customs as through adherence to the social reform philosophy and program of the Central-Verein.

This examination of the interest of German-American Catholics in social reform leaves the larger matter of immigrant participation in the progressive movement still an unanswered question. It does, however, show that the investigation of this question may open into unexpected complexities of ethnic history and immigrant assimilation and that conservatives could also become reformers.

[25] See Gleason, "Early Years of Frederick P. Kenkel." For German Romanticism and the Middle Ages, see Gottfried Salomon, *Das Mittelalter als Ideal in der Romantik* (Munich, 1922); Mary Magdalita Scheiber, *Ludwig Tieck and the Medieval Church* (Washington, D. C., 1939); and Karl Mannheim, *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology* (New York, 1953), 89 ff.

[26] Cf. Nathan Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ideology," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, ed. Morroe Berger *et al.* (New York, 1954).

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The Labour Party and the Welfare State in Britain, 1900–1948

ARTHUR MARWICK*

IN his detailed study of the establishment of the National Health Service Harry Eckstein insisted that, prior to the 1940's, the Labour party had contributed little to the concept of such a service: "The Labour Party was certainly not in the vanguard of the agitation. It joined the team, at best, in the middle of the game."[1] Alfred F. Havighurst endorsed this with the declaration that Labour issued no statement on a national health service until 1934.[2] A third American commentator on the British scene, Robert Brady, however, took an exactly contrary view, stating that "the programme which [Aneurin] Bevan inaugurated on the vesting day, July 5, 1948, was almost a verbatim copy of the one laid out by a Labour Conference thirty years earlier."[3] This opinion, expressed rather more cautiously, though extended to apply to the whole range of welfare state legislation between 1945 and 1948, was also voiced by G. D. H. Cole in one of his later essays.[4] Cole's earlier histories of the Labour party say little on Labour's attitude toward social policy. Henry Pelling similarly has largely confined himself to problems of power and organization,[5] and the latest narrative history of the Labour party, by yet another American historian, is equally reticent about pre-1945 Labour pronouncements on social welfare.[6] Maurice Bruce, in his admirable textbook on the British welfare state, is clearly not impressed by earlier Labour party

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[1] Harry Eckstein, *The English Health Service: Its Origins, Structure and Achievements* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 108, n. 4.

[2] Alfred F. Havighurst, *Twentieth Century Britain* (New York, 1962), 375.

[3] Robert Brady, *Crisis in Britain: Plans and Achievements of the Labour Government* (Berkeley, Calif., 1950), 356.

[4] G. D. H. Cole, "The Growth of Socialism," in *Law and Opinion in England in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Morris Ginsberg (London, 1959), 86.

[5] G. D. H. Cole, *British Working-Class Politics 1832–1914* (London, 1941) and *A History of the Labour Party from 1914* (London, 1948); Henry Pelling, *A Short History of the Labour Party* (London, 1961); Frank Bealey and Henry Pelling, *Labour and Politics 1900–1906: A History of the Labour Representation Committee* (London, 1958).

[6] Carl F. Brand, *The British Labour Party: A Short History* (Stanford, Calif., 1965). An impressive attempt to redress the balance, however, is Richard W. Lyman, "The British Labour Party: The Conflict between Socialist Ideals and Practical Politics between the Wars," *Journal of British Studies*, V (No. 1, 1965), 140–52.

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contributions.[7] If, rightly or wrongly, the Labour party is now inextricably associated with the basic structure of the modern welfare state in Britain,[8] some examination of its previous policies on this topic would seem eminently worthwhile. In adjudicating between the two contrasting views quoted above, this paper attempts to answer two questions: what did the Labour party contribute to social legislation actually carried out prior to 1945, and what ideas and theories on social policy did the Labour party, essentially an opposition party during this period, put forward? The legislation of 1945–1948 will then be examined against this historical background. Out of all this something may be contributed to the wider and much-canvassed question of whether the welfare state should be seen as an inevitable facet of contemporary capitalist development or whether it contains explicit elements of political ideology.[9]

The welfare state can quickly be defined as one in which full community responsibility is assumed for four major sectors of social well-being: social security, which means provision against interruption of earnings through sickness, injury, old age, or unemployment; health; housing; and education. It may also be argued that it involves a responsibility to maintain reasonable standards of living and to look after the cultural health of society. In nineteenth-century Britain the sole public provision for social security was the poor law, which was administered in a spirit of harsh deterrence by local boards of guardians who were zealous stewards of ratepayers' money. Most of the wealthier trade-unions ran their own insurance schemes, and the city of Birmingham, under the influence of Joseph Chamberlain, had taken the lead in developing a municipal scheme for unemployment relief. Modest government encouragement for such schemes was provided in the 1905 Unemployed Workmen Act. The limited problem of industrial injury was dealt with in 1897 when employers were made liable for workmen's compensation. The weakness of the system in operation was that it might involve expensive litigation that would eventually provide the injured workman a lump sum rather than a weekly benefit. Free medical attention in the nineteenth century was provided through the charitable "voluntary" hospitals, a handful of local authority hospitals, and poor law infirmaries, though the wealthier trade-unions provided doctors who were contracted to provide medical at-

[7] Maurice Bruce, *The Coming of the Welfare State* (London, 1961), 12–13, 16, 140–41.

[8] Asa Briggs, "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, II (No. 2, 1961), 211.

[9] See esp. Leonard Krieger, "The Idea of the Welfare State in Europe and the United States," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXIV (No. 4, 1963), 553–68; C. L. Mowat, "The Approach to the Welfare State in Great Britain," *American Historical Review*, LVIII (No. 1, 1953), 55–63; and Dorothy Wedderburn, "Facts and Theories of the Welfare State," in *The Socialist Register 1965* (London, 1965), 127–46.

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tention in return for regular fixed payments. The housing acts of the nineteenth century were all permissive in character: public housing, being a charge on the rates, was provided only by the most progressive local authorities. When England's first major education act passed in 1870, it established a dual system in which locally elected school boards provided elementary education in areas where there were no efficient religious schools. Subsequent legislation rendered elementary education both compulsory and free.

When one looks back into the period of the origins of the Labour party—roughly the last two decades of the nineteenth century—one finds the dominant issues to be either the immediate ones of political organization or the fundamental ones of capitalism and socialism, yet it is possible to detect two welfare issues on which Labour sentiment was strongly and clearly expressed. The first was the demand, constantly repeated by Keir Hardie after his election to the House of Commons as an independent Labour candidate, that "remunerative and profitable" public work should be found for the unemployed.[10] The other was the question of old-age pensions, much discussed in high political circles in the 1890's but shelved as Joseph Chamberlain became more and more involved in imperial issues and the country in the South African war. On May 9, 1899, there was founded "The National Committee of Organized Labour (Trade Unions, Trade Councils, Federations of these Bodies, Friendly Societies, and Cooperative Societies) on Old Age Pensions, based on the principle that every old person on attaining a given age should be entitled to receive a free Pension from the State; and charged with the instruction to promote the legal enactment of this principle."[11] After the formation of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) in 1900 as a federation of trade-unions and such socialist societies as the Independent Labour party (ILP) and the Fabian Society, old-age pensions became the one social issue dealt with in the propagandist literature issued by the new political organization in the first four years of its existence.[12]

The Trades Union Congress (TUC) in 1898 had, it is true, adopted a comprehensive and uncompromising resolution on educational reform that called for "Equality of Opportunity," raising the age of compulsory schooling to sixteen, and "such maintenance provided by the state as shall place secondary education within the reach of every worker's child";[13] when the motion was formally readopted the following year, however, its seconder

[10] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates*, 4th Ser., XIX (Dec. 19, 1893), col. 1769.
[11] F. H. Stead, *How Old Age Pensions Began to Be* (London, 1909), 64–65.
[12] Labour Representation Leaflet, No. 6, *The Labour View of Pensions for the Aged* (London, 1904). Sixteen Labour Representation Leaflets were issued between 1900 and 1904.
[13] *Official Report of 31st Annual Trades Union Congress, 1898* (Manchester, Eng., 1898), 70–71.

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alleged, with apparent justice, "that Congress never properly interested itself in this question of education."[14] Thereafter, during the controversies over educational administration aroused by the 1902 Education Act, the fundamentals of educational policy disappeared. In drawing up the act, which made subsidized secondary education possible for at least some working-class children, abolished the school boards, and gave rate support to the religious schools, the Conservative ministry of A. J. Balfour was greatly influenced by the Fabian Society in one of the most striking triumphs for the society's avowed policy of "permeating" the major political parties.[15] It is significant that Ramsay MacDonald, secretary of the LRC, and the LRC conference as a whole, strongly opposed the Fabian minority and the act itself, because of the abolition of the separately elected school boards and the granting of their powers to the ordinary local authorities.[16] Labour opinion, as distinct from that of the intellectual Fabians, continued to support this idea of directly elective educational machinery and pointed approvingly to Scotland where the system of school boards lasted until 1929. The 1905 LRC conference turned again to broader issues, calling for a system of free primary, secondary, and technological education, backed by maintenance scholarships. The beneficiaries of this proposed scheme were defined the following year as "all children whose usefulness could be enhanced by such extended education."[17] There is a similar ambiguity in the 1907 call for a scholarship system "within reach of every child."[18] The limited character of Labour attitudes on education is brought out by the conference debate of 1912 on a resolution proposing the raising of compulsory school age to sixteen (in theory the age was now fourteen, but there were so many exceptions and qualifications that many children in fact left school at twelve or thirteen). The motion passed, but the distinguished miners' leader, Robert Smillie, despite his own inclinations, had to voice the official hostility of his union; there was also strong opposition from the textile areas, home of the child "half-timers."[19]

[14] *Official Report of 32nd Annual Trades Union Congress, 1899* (Manchester, Eng., 1899), 75–76. Olive Banks, *Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education: A Study in Educational Sociology* (London, 1955), 116, gives a stronger, and, I believe, incorrect emphasis to early trade-union interest in education. For a full account of working-class attitudes toward education, see Brian Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870–1920: Studies in the History of Education* (London, 1965), esp. 126–62.

[15] M. I. Cole, *The Story of Fabian Socialism* (London, 1961), 332; Fabian Society, *The Education Muddle and the Way Out* (London, 1901).

[16] LRC, *Annual Conference Report, 1902* (London, 1902), 25–26. The ILP was divided on the issue: Philip Snowden opposed the local boards and "favoured the expense of education being met by the Imperial Exchequer." (*Ibid.*, 26.)

[17] *Ibid., 1905* (London, 1905), 55; Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1906* (London, 1906), 68.

[18] *Ibid., 1907* (London, 1907), 62.

[19] *Ibid., 1912* (London, 1912), 105.

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In other spheres the metamorphosis after the 1906 general election of the LRC into a Labour party with a parliamentary strength of thirty did involve a more positive Labour contribution to welfare policies. It was now possible to apply direct pressure on old-age pensions, one of the first topics on which the new parliamentary Labour party initiated a debate.[20] Of the debate itself the Reverend T. H. Stead (admittedly a committed observer) wrote:

> . . . I was forcibly impressed by a new and revolutionary fact. That was the profound deference paid in all parts of the House to the Labour Members. . . . Too often it was the homage of conscious ignorance to expert knowledge. But there was more than that. There was a tremendous foreboding that these Labour men, so few in number, but so determined in purpose, had behind them unmeasured potencies of electoral strength.[21]

Two by-election victories during 1906 by Labour candidates who made old-age pensions a main issue seemed to emphasize this last point. Yet the speech from the throne delivered the following February made no mention of old-age pensions, as Hardie was quick to point out.[22] An amendment lamenting this omission was moved the following day by G. N. Barnes.[23] Extraparliamentary activity culminated in January 1908 in a special Labour conference on old-age pensions.[24] Finally, in June 1908, the Liberal government put its proposals for maximum pensions of 5*s*. per week for a single person and 7*s*.6*d*. for a couple before the House. A Labour amendment, strongly supported by a Conservative opposition that was only too happy to embarrass the government, secured the raising of the married couple's pension to 10*s*.[25] Labour members played a part in another of the social reforms of the 1906 Liberal ministry: the provision of free school meals, long the special interest of Fred Jowett from Bradford (where there already was a municipal scheme in operation).[26]

With regard to social security generally, Labour advocated the abolition of the hated poor law; it recommended that most of the poor law services

[20] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 4th Ser., CLIII (Mar. 14, 1906), cols. 1330 ff.

[21] Stead, *Old Age Pensions,* 205.

[22] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 4th Ser., CLXIX (Feb. 12, 1907), cols. 106–107.

[23] *Ibid.* (Feb. 13, 1907), col. 222.

[24] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1908* (London, 1908), 68.

[25] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 4th Ser., CXC (June 24, 1908), cols. 1775–94. For an excellent analysis of the issue, see Doreen Collins, "The Introduction of Old Age Pensions in Britain," *Historical Journal,* VIII (No. 2, 1965), 246–59. Collins does not mention the part played by the Labour party. See also Bentley B. Gilbert, "The Decay of Nineteenth-Century Provident Institutions and the Coming of Old Age Pensions in Great Britain," *Economic History Review,* 2d Ser., XVII (No. 3, 1965), 240–52.

[26] A. F. Brockway, *Socialism over Sixty Years: The Life of Jowett of Bradford* (London, 1946), 78 ff.; Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement,* 248–89.

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go to the local authorities, though it also favored the creation of a ministry of labour that would observe working-class problems.[27] On unemployment the parliamentary Labour party extended the original Hardie approach into a "work or maintenance" policy embodied in three "Right to Work" bills, sponsored between 1907 and 1909.[28] But more sophisticated, though not necessarily more enlightened, ideas were now in the air. Politicians' attention had for some time been focused on the German experiment with national insurance (for sickness, but not unemployment), while a young Liberal journalist, William Beveridge, argued the merits of the establishment of a system of labor exchanges. Since 1905 a royal commission had been examining the working of the poor laws.[29] Fabian influence on this commission was exerted through Mrs. Sidney Webb, while George Lansbury could put forth the more purely Labour case. In the end, as is well known, the Fabian ideas were embodied in a *Minority Report,* which actually was in many respects not widely different from the *Majority Report.*[30] The Liberal government, in any event, having taken up the idea of labor exchanges, proceeded to draft its famous national insurance scheme of 1911. Labour responses were mixed. Officially the parliamentary Labour party accepted the contributory insurance basis proposed for both unemployment and sickness. In the words of MacDonald, now chairman of the party: "We accept, and I believe that the great mass of the people of this country accept without questioning, the insurance method of dealing with this problem."[31] But a substantial section of the parliamentary party, led by Snowden, did not accept the proposal. MacDonald's parliamentary report to the 1912 Labour party conference attempted to arraign the rebels,[32] but it was clear that the conference supported them rather than the leadership. A resolution expressing reservations on many aspects of the government scheme was carried on a show of hands by 241 to 39, with MacDonald being attacked for what a delegate termed a "flippant speech."[33] The 1913 conference, rejecting by 976,000 to 569,000 an amendment generally favorable to the government moved by Mrs. Webb, called for the repeal of Part I (health insurance) of

[27] LRC, *Annual Conference Report, 1905,* 68; *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 4th Ser., CLXXXIII (Feb. 6, 1908), cols. 1122–23.

[28] *Ibid.,* CLXXVII (July 10, 1907), cols. 1447–48; *ibid.,* CLXXXVI (Mar. 13, 1908), cols. 10–99; *ibid.,* 5th Ser., IV (Apr. 30, 1909), col. 633; see J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The New Unemployed Bill of the Labour Party* (London, 1908).

[29] *Sessional Papers,* 1909, XXXVII, cd. 4499.

[30] For some perceptive comments, see Karl de Schweinitz, *England's Road to Social Security* (London, 1943), 184–98; see also Bentley B. Gilbert, *The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain: The Origins of the Welfare State* (London, 1966).

[31] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 5th Ser., XXVI (May 29, 1911), cols. 725–26.

[32] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1912,* 29.

[33] *Ibid.,* 96–98.

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the 1911 act and its re-establishment on a noncontributory basis.[34] The parliamentary party was instructed to adopt the same approach in regard to Part II (unemployment insurance).[35]

Labour policy in face of the manifest ill-working of the existing system of workmen's compensation had clear overtones of class war. The 1911 conference agreed that "Workmen's Compensation should be organized and provided by the State, by charges upon the industries concerned, and free from any contribution from the worker."[36] The more farsighted proposal that compensation should be "a charge upon, and payable by, the Imperial Exchequer" was voted down.[37]

The winning of old-age pensions and of a free school meals service, marginally at least, owed something to the Labour party, though these two achievements cannot be compared to the passing of the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 as a triumph for the new party. In public health Labour had no direct influence in this period, unless one counts the efforts of Mrs. Webb and Lansbury on the Poor Law Commission. The Webbs' ideas on public health, as expressed in their *The State and the Doctor,* were, in fact, extremely narrow and certainly went no further than those of the most informed medical and lay experts of the day.[38] What the Webbs advocated was a "united State service" administered by a central public health department either separate from or within the existing Local Government Board. There would be a rigid test of the applicant's financial resources (Means Test) "persuading" all but the very poorest to make use of a private doctor.[39] The limits of the Webbs' vision are all too apparent in the following passage:

> Nor can anyone be warranted in giving support to the proposal that the whole of this outdoor medical service of the Poor Law should be superseded by a publicly subsidised system of letting the poor choose their own doctors. Any such system would lead, not only to a most serious inroad upon the work and emoluments of the private practitioner, but also to an extravagant expenditure of public funds on popular remedies and "medical extras."[40]

Labour attitudes, as expressed at party conferences, surpassed those of the Webbs. Following resolutions in 1909 and 1910 calling for the nationalization of all hospitals "in order that the best medical aid may be at the service of all classes of the community,"[41] the 1911 conference approved a demand for

[34] *Ibid., 1913* (London, 1913), 104–106.
[35] *Ibid.,* 106.
[36] *Ibid., 1911* (London, 1911), 105–106.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] R. M. Titmuss, "Health," in *Law and Opinion,* ed. Ginsberg, 308 ff.
[39] Beatrice and Sidney Webb, *The State and the Doctor* (London, 1910), 219, 225, 256–58.
[40] *Ibid.,* 230–31.
[41] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1909* (London, 1909), 88; *ibid., 1910* (London, 1910), 96.

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a state medical service which "was a real medical service . . . that would be applied to everybody."[42] This insistence upon a comprehensive, classless (or "universalist") service, henceforth a central characteristic of all Labour thinking on the subject, contrasts sharply with the Webb idea of a service for the very poor only. In any event, the change embodied in the 1911 act from a mainly contractual medical service to a panel system administered by local insurance committees, combined with health insurance administered through private insurance companies (the "approved societies"), owed nothing to the Labour party, and only a little to the Webbs. Poor law hospitals, voluntary hospitals, and local authority hospitals continued their separate existence.

On housing, Labour had remarkably little to say, first raising a cry for state subsidies in 1914.[43] Housing, however, was included in the most significant of all the pre-1914 Labour contributions to the ideology of welfare policy, the concept of the "national minimum," involving

> a legal minimum wage in agriculture and all industries, the reduction of the hours of labour to 48 hours per week, complete provision against sickness, the guarantee of a national minimum of child nurture, the prevention of unemployment, the building of healthy homes for all, and the abolition of the Poor Law.[44]

In origins the concept sprang on one side from the insistence on "work or maintenance" and on the other from the more passive Fabian faith in "the constant elaboration of the collective provision for those unable to provide for themselves, of whatever may be regarded for the time being as the national minimum."[45] Presented to the 1913 party conference by the ILP, it is as fine an advance definition of the welfare state as can be found anywhere in Labour party literature prior to 1940. In its specific application to the size of welfare benefits, the "national minimum" was a notion that long remained with the party, until, in fact, the party was in a position to turn notion into fact.

Essentially a pressure group, limited and halting in most of its pronouncements, the Labour party of 1914 was changed by the upheavals of war into a major political party. Organizationally the change was reflected in the new party constitution of 1918; in terms of social policy it was reflected in the policy manifesto *Labour and the New Social Order* and in the conference resolution on health noted by Brady. *Labour and the New Social Order,* a curiously ill-constructed document, sprawls awkwardly over what are called the "Four Pillars of the House" (four is something of a magic

[42] *Ibid., 1911,* 106.
[43] *Ibid., 1914* (London, 1914), 150.
[44] *Ibid., 1913,* 107.
[45] Sidney Webb, *Towards Social Democracy? A Study of Social Evolution during the Past Three-Quarters of a Century* (London, 1916), 39.

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numeral in British Labour iconology).[46] The first pillar was "Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum," which included health, housing, and education. There was much on unemployment, but the only precise suggestion was that the existing national insurance scheme be extended to occupations so far not included in it and that increased benefits be paid.[47] The second pillar was "Democratic Control of Industry," which included the nationalization of industrial insurance (that is, insurance to cover burial costs). Under the subheading "Local Government," education, housing, and health were again mentioned: there should be free educational provision up to whatever standard the child was capable of reaching; housing should be financed by interest-free loans or government grants, but should not be a charge on the local rates; and there should be a reorganization—the document is not very precise here—of local health services.[48] The third pillar was "Revolution in National Finance," and the fourth was "Surplus Wealth for the Common Good." This last section stated that the surplus should be used for extending health services, education, and cultural facilities.[49]

The health resolution of 1918 is important enough to deserve quotation in full, though it is too much a child of its times to bear the responsibilities Brady places on it. Moved by Dr. Marion Phillips of the Women's Labour League, and carried unanimously, the resolution ran:

> That this conference declares that the organization and development of a unified Health Service for the whole community are questions of urgent importance, and that steps should be taken without delay to establish a Ministry of Health based upon Public Health Services, and entirely disassociated from any Poor Law taints.
>
> (a) That to such a Ministry of Health should be transferred all the Health Services now coming under the Local Government Board, Board of Education, Home Office, Privy Council, National Health Insurance Commissions and Poor Law Acts.
> (b) That a Department for the care of Infancy, Maternity and Old-age, largely staffed by women, should be established, and increased powers be given to Central and Local Authorities for work of this kind.
> (c) That all duties relating to Housing should be transferred to the new Ministry, and that in this Department also the services of women should be fully utilised.
> (d) That there should be no representation of special interests, such as those of Insurance Societies in the formation of such a Ministry.
> (e) That the Public Health Committees of the Local Authorities, with such further provision as is necessary in view of their increased duties on the lines

[46] Labour Party, *Labour and the New Social Order* (London, 1918). The 1942 policy document *The Old World and the New Society* also set the Labour party four aims. Clause four of the party constitution is well known.
[47] *Labour and the New Social Order*, 5–6, 8–11.
[48] *Ibid.*, 14–17.
[49] *Ibid.*, 21.

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of the composition of the Education Committees, should be the centres of local administration.

(f) That the Public Health Acts should be extended so as to include within their scope all those duties now so inadequately provided under the Poor Law, and all further services that are necessary to secure and maintain the health of the community.[50]

Plans for the establishment of a ministry of health were already well advanced, though it is possible that without the sort of outside pressure represented by this motion, they might, like so much of the government's reconstruction policy, have been shelved. The resolution is typical of Labour thinking at this time in the emphasis it places on control by local authorities (an amendment seeking to place health officers under the ministry rather than the local authorities was rejected):[51] ironically it was a major weakness of the Ministry of Health as it finally emerged that too much power was left in the hands of the local authorities.[52]

Much more significant than this resolution on national health is the flurry of special conferences and policy documents of the 1920's; it is curious that these have been completely ignored both by historians of the Labour party and of the welfare state, though their content is infinitely more interesting than that of the slender and noncommital *Dawson Report* to which historians have usually given far too much attention. First of all an Advisory Committee on Public Health, consisting of the following members, was appointed: the Right Honorable John Hodge, M. P. (chairman), G. P. Blizard (secretary), Mr. James Bacon, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Dr. E. J. Bygott, Mr. G. W. Canter, Mr. P. W. Cole, Dr. F. Lawson Dodd, Dr. David Forsythe, Dr. Arthur Greenwood, Dr. Somerville Hastings, Dr. Leonard Hill, Mr. G. A. Isaacs, Dr. James Kerr, Mr. William Leach, Dr. Benjamin Moore, Miss Enid Orange, Dr. C. A. Parker, Mr. W. C. Robinson, Dr. Alfred Salter, Mrs. E. W. Salmond, Dr. Lauriston Shaw, Dr. Jane Walker, Mrs. Sidney Webb, and Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Kynaston.[53] This committee agreed that "all the present voluntary hospitals should eventually be merged into the public hospital system," but it would not accept the recommendation of an influential minority, in which Hastings was a leading figure, that the doctor should become a salaried servant of the state.[54] A memorandum prepared by the committee formed the basis of the most complete blueprint for a future national health service yet put on paper, which the Labour

[50] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1918* (London, 1918), 124–25.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] See the interesting article by Philip Abrams, "The Failure of Social Reform: 1918–1920," *Past and Present*, No. 24 (Apr. 1963), 43–64.
[53] Labour Party, *Memoranda Prepared by Advisory Committee on Public Health* (London, n.d.), 1.
[54] *Ibid.*, 5, 11.

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party and Trades Union Congress published jointly in 1922.[55] "The Labour party," this document ran, "considers that the health of the community, being a matter of national concern, should be entrusted to the care of a complete Public Medical Service."[56] Although the blueprint saw this service as being administered by the local authorities, it stressed that they, in turn, would be under the supervision of the minister of health.[57] Still more important, the document imaginatively recognized that "the country should be divided into areas of sufficient size to allow of complete medical organisation," though in practice it equated these areas with the existing counties and county boroughs.[58] It was also precocious enough to recognize that "the several activities of this National Health Service should all pivot upon the local hospital as an Institute of Health."[59] In elaboration of this, it continued:

> the only possible method of coping with the urgent necessity for increased accommodation is for local health authorities to establish their own hospitals. . . . Public hospitals when established should become ***the health centre*** or institute of each local health authority and should provide accommodation within their walls for all medical activities.[60]

The document here, it may be noted, stopped a little further from the brink of the controversial nationalization of hospitals, so confidently advocated in prewar days, than the Advisory Committee memorandum. It was unequivocal, however, in stating that the service should be "free and open to all," and this principle, it argued, would render obsolete the insurance element in existing public health provision.[61] The authors, well aware of the revolutionary nature of their proposals, suggested a transitional stage in which medical benefits would be made a charge on public funds and payable by the local authorities instead of insurance committees, and an immediate program of hospital building, appointment of specialists, and so on would be launched.[62]

The seriousness of the Labour party's interest in the problems of a national health service is borne out by the conference held at Caxton Hall, London, April 28–29, 1924, with representatives of the British Medical Association, the Medical Practitioners' Union, the Medical Women's Federation, the Federation of Medical and Allied Services, the British Dental Associa-

[55] Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, *The Labour Party and the Preventive and Curative Medical Services* (London, n.d.).
[56] *Ibid.*, 3.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*, 3, 12.
[59] *Ibid.*, 4.
[60] *Ibid.*, 6 [italics mine].
[61] *Ibid.*, 3, 7.
[62] *Ibid.*, 10.

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tion, the nurses organizations, the approved societies, insurance committees, and big hospitals.[63] Hastings presented the Labour view, Lord Knutsford that of the voluntary hospitals, and Mr. Bishop Harman that of the doctors.[64] It was not possible to secure more than a vague resolution of agreement on general principles, disagreement being sharpest over the continued desire of the Labour representatives for the integration of the voluntary hospitals into a public system.[65] In January 1927 there was a further conference, this time with representatives of the nursing profession.[66] None of this important work had any direct effect immediately, and it indeed figured in only the briefest form at party conferences and in propagandist literature. Labour could, certainly, assert some direct influence (this was true of all aspects of social policy) through its representatives on the local authorities. It made large gains in the local government elections of 1919, which gave it control of Bradford and of twelve London boroughs, and majorities in the counties of Durham, Glamorgan, and Monmouthshire. Labour could also attempt to assert influence through the elective boards of guardians, though the judiciary frowned on any sharp deviation from the normal pattern of behavior,[67] and, in Scotland through the elective school boards until 1929. It became avowed Labour policy in local government not so much to create new social policies but to get local authorities to carry out the existing legislative legacy of the war period.[68]

Labour was in office briefly in 1924 and again for eighteen months between 1929 and 1931. Unemployment, housing, and, to a lesser degree, education were the social problems that received most ministerial attention. The 1924 Labour government was no more successful than any other in dealing with the basic economic problems underlying unemployment, and it attempted no fundamental change in the structure of unemployment insurance. Benefits for the adult male were raised from 15*s.* to 18*s.*, scarcely a perceptible nod in the direction of the national minimum. The government also shortened the "waiting period" imposed upon the unemployed man after the benefits to which his insurance contribution entitled him were exhausted, and before he moved on to what was first called "uncovenanted benefit" and later "extended benefit" (or, in the nasty phrase of the Right-wing press, "the dole"). When again in opposition, the party proved more adventurous, and the evidence put forward jointly by the Labour party and the TUC to the

[63] Report of Conference, printed as Labour Party, *The Hospital Problem* (London, 1924).
[64] *Ibid.*, 3–6.
[65] *Ibid.*, 12.
[66] Labour Party, *The Labour Party and the Nursing Profession* (London, 1927).
[67] See, e.g., the case of *Roberts* v. *Hopwood*, 1924.
[68] See, e.g., Labour Party, *Continued Education under the New Education Act* (London, 1919).

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Blanesburgh Committee on Unemployment Insurance (appointed by the Conservatives) makes interesting reading. Strong hostility, which was to mark Labour thoughts on the subject in the 1940's, was aroused by the dole[69]—that is to say to the distinction between benefit to which a man was entitled and "extended benefit" to which he had no claim as of right. At the same time the contributory principle was attacked on the grounds that flat-rate contributions were not commensurate with the ability to pay nor with risk of unemployment,[70] the latter being a strangely unsocialistic argument. The Labour party and TUC put forward two sets of recommendations, one "ideal," one immediate. The first "ideal" recommendation embodied the national minimum principle: the unemployed should be paid full maintenance. The other recommendation was that the full cost should fall upon the state, with the poor law at the same time being abolished.[71] As an immediate program, the representatives recommended a rise in benefits to one pound per week, a further extension of the classes in the community covered by unemployment insurance (there does not, however, seem to be any question of the middle classes being included; though accepting the universalist principle for the medical service, Labour had not yet arrived at it for social insurance), the ending of the concept of "extended benefit," a reduction in the employee's contributions, and an increase in those of the Exchequer (if the contributory principle had to be maintained, the delegation would have liked contributions to be linked to earnings, but this, for some reason, they felt impracticable); as a final immediate task, the delegation recommended the setting up of training centers for the unemployed.[72]

The uneasy eighteen months of Labour government between 1929 and 1931 again revealed Labour in office as unwilling or unable to carry through any fundamental change in the structure of unemployment insurance. The government's failure to improve the lot of the unemployed raised to crisis point tensions that had long been building up on the back benches of the parliamentary Labour party. The party leadership had refused, prior to the 1929 election, to commit itself unequivocally to raising unemployment benefits to one pound per week for an adult male, but a small group of candidates, mainly concentrated in the ILP, had pledged themselves to that figure. Only when they were joined by the trade-union group of M.P.'s were the ILP dissidents able to secure any concessions from the government: the gratuitous and humiliating proviso that an applicant for unemployment

[69] Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, *Unemployment Insurance: Principles of Labour Policy* (London, n.d.), 4.
[70] *Ibid.*, 5.
[71] *Ibid.*, 6–7.
[72] *Ibid.*, 10–15.

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benefit must prove that he was "genuinely seeking work" was abolished, and the conditions governing the granting of "transitional benefit" (the new name for extended benefit) were made less harsh. At the same time the Labour government, in face of the bitter hostility of the small ILP group, enacted its Anomalies Bill, which was supposed to deal with those who, without genuine need or qualification, were receiving unemployment benefit.

By 1930 the ILP—the most active component in the original LRC—had little influence on the labor movement, but in the middle 1920's, when it was still of considerable importance, its leading intellectuals had produced a vigorous policy document with clear overtones of the national minimum entitled *The Living Wage*. Among other things, *The Living Wage* called for the institution of family allowances.[73] At the 1926 Labour party conference P. J. Dollan of the ILP moved to establish family allowances, but encountered so much opposition from trade-unionists, who feared that their introduction would undermine trade-union bargaining and make an excuse for lowering wages, that the matter was referred to the Labour party executive,[74] and from there to a joint Labour party-TUC committee.[75] A majority of the committee, in 1930, favored family allowances and recommended, another controversial point, that they should be paid directly to the mother.[76] But there was still a strong body of opposition to the whole idea, and so, for the time being, the matter rested there.

The one conspicuous domestic achievement of either of the first two Labour governments was the 1924 Housing Act, conceived and executed by the most brilliant of the Clydeside ILP figures, John Wheatley. The basic principle behind the act was the same as that embodied in the Addison Act, passed by David Lloyd George's government in 1919: that of a state subsidy for housebuilding by local authorities, a somewhat clumsy system since the local authorities must in the first place borrow the money needed to launch their housebuilding program. Wheatley was, in fact, acting contrary to a decision of the 1920 party conference that favored the granting by the central government of low interest loans to the local authorities.[77] There could be no doubt, however, as to the practical success of the Wheatley Act until it was suspended by the succeeding Conservative ministry. Arthur Greenwood's Housing Act of 1930 was a more limited measure, concentrating state subsidies on the specific problem of slum clearance, thus setting the tone for Conservative as well as Labour policy in the 1930's.

[73] H. N. Brailsford *et al.*, *The Living Wage* (Manchester, Eng., 1926), 20–26.
[74] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1926* (London, 1926), 274–75.
[75] *Ibid., 1930* (London, 1930), 303–307.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1920* (London, 1920), 181.

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Labour's policy on education in the 1920's, though far in advance of that of the other political parties, was so burdened by an awareness of the dreadful inadequacies of the existing system as to seem positively pedestrian. It was dominated by the too facile slogan "Secondary Education for All," the title of a study published in 1922, which was mainly the work of R. H. Tawney. Labour's objective was

> both the improvement of primary education and the development of public secondary education to such a point that all normal children, irrespective of the income, class, or occupation of their parents, may be transferred at the age of 11+ from the primary or preparatory school to one type or another of secondary school, and remain in the latter till sixteen.[78]

Tawney was aware of the dangers, which, half a century later, had become an unfortunate feature of the post-1944 educational system: "All educationists are agreed that classifications of children made at eleven and twelve should be, at most, provisional, because the younger the children the more likely they are to be mistaken."[79] What was lacking in *Secondary Education for All* was any real conception of education as an essential ingredient in the regeneration of society. To find this one has to turn to the ILP publications of the mid-twenties.[80] Most staggering was the omission of any proposals for dealing with the fee-paying Public Schools (the equivalent of the exclusive and expensive American private schools). It is not altogether surprising that the party conference of 1926, admittedly the peak of Left-wing sentiment in the 1920's, passed a resolution strongly criticizing recent educational publications of the Labour party and TUC, and calling for more "Workers' Control" in education.[81] In office Labour's education policies were entrusted to C. P. Trevelyan, a former Liberal who had moved into the Labour party by means of the ILP; he was able in 1924 considerably to relax the economies that had recently been imposed upon the public education system, but in 1930 he resigned from the government, partly because of the frustration of his proposals by the Conservative House of Lords, but mainly because of his conviction that the Labour government was insufficiently socialistic in its responses to the world capitalist crisis.

The 1931 crisis and its aftermath had the clearly marked effect of turning Labour's social thinkers away from planning for the future to the immediate task of safeguarding the existing social services.[82] Labour's concern here

[78] Labour Party, *Secondary Education for All* (London, n.d.), 7. Condensed versions of this were published jointly by the TUC and Labour party as *Education of Children over Eleven* (London, n.d.) and *From Nursery School to University* (London, n.d.).

[79] *Secondary Education for All*, 111.

[80] See, e.g., *New Leader*, Oct. 12, 1923.

[81] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1926*, 264–65.

[82] See, e.g., *ibid., 1931* (London, 1931), 217–22.

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brings out the more permanent ambivalence in a party committed to attacking existing social provision as inadequate, but at the same time governed by the ILP tradition of local government service and the Fabian heritage of belief in the "inevitability of gradualness" and pride in "the constant elaboration of the collective provision . . . of . . . the national minimum." Thus the educational economies of the National government were attacked as reversing "the policy followed by all its predecessors since 1902."[83] The severely limited nature of Labour social planning in the 1930's has perhaps been responsible for the general neglect by historians of the real advances in social thinking made by Labour in the 1920's. It is typified by the concentration in housing policy on the necessary, but essentially negative, topic of slum clearance[84] and in education on the need for maintenance grants for secondary-school children rather than on any further expansion of the eductional system.[85] The unproductiveness of Labour's social thought in the 1930's contrasts curiously with the detailed work done by such organizations as Political and Economic Planning and the Next Five Years Group.[86]

The one exception to this picture is the appearance in 1931 of the Socialist Medical Association (SMA), a body within the Labour party that advocated the sort of state medical service whose shape had already been worked out in the early 1920's. At the 1932 party conference, Hastings, now representing this new association, called for a "State Medical Service" "free and open to all." "It seems to me," he said, "it would be as sensible to make the salaries of the clergy dependent upon the amount of crime in their congregations as our present system of making the remuneration of the doctor depend upon the amount of disease he fails to prevent."[87] Enunciating once again the universalist principle, Hastings declared that his service would not be for the working class alone; he wanted no trace of the stigma of the poor law attached to it. "I want a service that the millionaire may take advantage of, and I want it to be so efficient that he will be glad to do so."[88] In the discussion that followed, a delegate received no reply when he inquired whether the proposals involved the nationalization of all hospitals. The party's post-1931 state of mind is indicated by the conference chairman's cautious remark that the implications of the SMA resolution

[83] *Ibid., 1932* (London, 1932), 250.
[84] See, e.g., *ibid., 1933* (London, 1933), 196–98.
[85] See, e.g., *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 5th Ser., CCLI (Feb. 12, 1936), col. 583.
[86] Arthur Marwick, "Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Planning, Progress and Political 'Agreement,'" *English Historical Review,* LXXIX (No. 2, 1964), 285–98.
[87] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1932,* 269.
[88] *Ibid.*

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were "very far-reaching."[89] The matter accordingly was referred to the executive, where it became so bogged down that Hastings had to ask the following year what had happened to it. Even he seemed to share the general diffidence about ambitious social planning, remarking that he realized the introduction of such a medical service might not be the first duty of a Labour government, but that it was necessary to have a "mental picture of the service we want to develop."[90] After another year the executive presented what it called a Preliminary Report, which was duly approved by the conference.[91] It is this document of 1934 that Eckstein and Havighurst erroneously regard as Labour's first venture into a discussion of the problems of national health. What is striking about the report[92] is the extreme caution with which it is phrased. It began by remarking that a state medical service could be built either upon the existing national health insurance scheme or upon the existing local authority services; the report favored the second alternative, so that health insurance would be confined to the payment of benefits (as distinct from the provision of free medical attention through the panel system). The approved societies would remain, and the income limit for participation in the scheme would be raised to about five hundred pounds per annum (a complete retreat here from the universalist principle). Reflecting the grim aftermath of 1931, the report also regretted that "for financial reasons" it would not be possible to forgo contributions. As to the medical service itself, the aim here was that it should be free and universal, but this could only be achieved in stages.

The report cited three prerequisites: there must be a consolidation but not under poor law control of existing local authority services; "efforts" must be made to take over the voluntary hospitals whose "valuable services" were recognized, a form of words even more noncommittal than the formulas of the 1920's; the public medical service must be equal to or, "rather, very much better than" the insurance system—no starry-eyed objective.

> Bearing these requirements in mind, it is suggested that the first main stage of a developing Public Health Service might be the provision of free domiciliary and institutional medical care to all insured persons, all insured persons of similar income, and all dependants of either category. Uninsured persons over the insurance income limit and their dependants might continue to make their own arrangements for non-institutional treatment on payment of reasonable charges according to means. In certain cases where free treatment is now available irrespective of means, the practice might be continued.[93]

[89] *Ibid.*, 270.
[90] *Ibid.*, *1933*, 141.
[91] *Ibid.*, *1934* (London, 1934), 215.
[92] Printed *ibid.*, 256–58.
[93] *Ibid.*, 258.

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Hastings was remarkably kind to this hesitant and etiolated document, describing it as an "embryo" of the sort of service he and the SMA visualized.[94] The report was published as an appendix to the 1934 party conference report, but unlike many other policy statements of the time was not accorded the status of separate publication in the form of a pamphlet, though it was mentioned in the propaganda leaflet *For Socialism and Peace*.[95] Until the outbreak of war no further hint was given of Labour thinking on public health.

The advent of the Second World War, Labour's participation in the Churchill coalition, and the wide interest everywhere aroused in the problems of social reform—an interest less novel, but more practical, than that during the First World War—restored Labour's confidence in its social mission; a clear eye and a ringing tread mark the series of vital policy statements turned out during the war. Labour was enjoying the uniquely happy role of being at one and the same time a government party, with all the prestige and experience that role conferred, and an opposition party, with complete freedom to work out policies of its own and, at party conferences, to criticize government policy (the implication on these occasions being that government policy was really Conservative policy). At a time when there was an overriding need to maximize national productivity, the trade-union leadership, too, enjoyed a strong bargaining position. Starting from the anomalies and inadequacies of the existing national health insurance scheme, the general council of the TUC "came to the conclusion that what was necessary was the complete overhauling of the whole scheme and the related Social Services."[96] A deputation in February 1941 to Minister of Health Ernest Brown stressed "the necessity for the linking up of all the Social Service Schemes into an adequate and properly coordinated scheme" and for drawing up a "comprehensive plan" in readiness "for implementation immediately after the war."[97] In May it was announced that a comprehensive survey of the social services would be undertaken under the auspices of Arthur Greenwood, a Labour representative in the government and the minister responsible for reconstruction problems. It was intended that the survey would be carried out by an interdepartmental committee of civil servants under the chairmanship of Beveridge, who had been involved in the problems of social policy since before 1914. Because of what might be termed the "sacred egoism" of Beveridge, the report associated with his name[98] had a

[94] *Ibid.*, 215.
[95] Labour Party, *For Socialism and Peace* (London, 1934).
[96] *Report of 73rd Annual Trades Union Congress, 1941* (London, 1941), 114.
[97] *Ibid.*; see also Trades Union Congress, *The T.U.C. in Wartime* (London, 1942), and William (Lord) Beveridge, *Power and Influence* (London, 1953), 282 ff.
[98] *Sessional Papers*, 1942–43, VI, cmd. 6404.

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far greater impact than might have been predicted from its original terms of reference. The 1942 Labour party conference welcomed the appointment of the interdepartmental committee; the resolution, moved by James Griffiths, stated the Labour view that there should be:

> (a) One comprehensive scheme of social security.
> (b) Adequate cash payments to provide security whatever the contingency.
> (c) The provision of cash payments from national funds for all children through a scheme of Family Allowances.
> (d) The right to all forms of medical attention and treatment through a National Health Service.[99]

From the floor of the conference there was again strong opposition to the idea of family allowances, and another amendment expressed hostility to putting the new social security system on a contributory basis. Both, however, were defeated.[100]

The *Beveridge Report* was published at the end of 1942 and was the subject of a parliamentary debate early in 1943.[101] Officially the government accepted in principle the Beveridge recommendation that there be one comprehensive system of social security, but their first two major spokesmen (both Conservatives) were so Laodicean in their advocacy that the parliamentary Labour party, despite the fact that its own leaders were in the government, felt bound to table an amendment expressing their disappointment with the government attitude.[102] When it came to a division, ninety-seven Labour members, together with twenty-two Conservatives and Liberals, voted against the government. Labour's formal attitude to the *Beveridge Report* was that, although amendments and improvements might be necessary, a scheme based on it should be ready to put into practice at the end of the war.[103] In 1944 the government announced its policy on social insurance, following in general the lines of the Beveridge recommendations.[104] Labour's critique of the government White Paper concentrated on the inadequacy of the proposed benefits and on the proviso that, in order to preserve the sanctity of the insurance basis, benefits would be paid only for a limited number of weeks.[105] In connection with the former point the following statement was given priority in practically every Labour pronouncement on social policy: "The Labour party is pledged to work

[99] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1942* (London, 1942), 132.
[100] *Ibid.*, 132–37.
[101] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 5th Ser., CCCLXXXVI (Feb. 23, 1943), cols. 1615–2054.
[102] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1943* (London, 1943), 80.
[103] *Ibid.*, 5–6, 20–26, 136–42.
[104] *Sessional Papers,* 1943–44, VIII, cmd. 6550.
[105] Labour Party, *Preliminary Observations on the Government White Paper on Social Insurance, Workmen's Compensation and a National Health Service* (London, 1944).

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towards the realisation of a national minimum standard below which no citizen should be allowed to fall."[106] A third significant feature of Labour thinking on social security was the emphasis on the nationalization of all insurance; during the 1945 election campaign, however, pledges were given that a place would be found in the new dispensation for bona fide friendly societies.[107]

The Labour policy document *National Service for Health* picks up and, on one point, extends the policies of the 1920's. *National Service for Health* was the first policy statement to appreciate fully the dependence of social policy upon efficient local government, and instead of basing its proposed health service on existing local authorities, as all previous Labour schemes had suggested, it postulated a scheme based on regional authorities.[108] The region was a new larger local authority unit described in the sister document *The Future of Local Government,*[109] to which all readers of *National Service for Health* were referred. After this courageous pronouncement, which if implemented would have given the health service a single co-ordinated and elective system of administration, the regional authorities having control over all branches of the service, with the Minister of Health assuming "powers of default,"[110] the remarks on the future of the voluntary hospitals were again less than crystal clear. "Surely," said the document, in a manner suggesting that the authors were not quite sure, "the conclusion must be that public and voluntary hospitals alike must be brought within a National Health Service on equitable terms."[111] But there was no avoidance of the Labour party objective of a "fully salaried medical service."[112] The government White Paper, *A National Health Service,*[113] was vaguer than, but not radically different from, the Labour proposals and was given a qualified welcome by the 1944 conference.[114] During the succeeding year, however, Henry Willink, Conservative Minister of Health in the Churchill government, entered into negotiations with the British Medical Association. The final result of the negotiations was a weakening of the original proposals; this the 1945 Labour party conference repudiated.[115]

Labour's housing policy was enunciated in *Housing and Planning after the War*. Here there was an implicit rejection of the Wheatley and Green-

[106] *Ibid.*, 5.
[107] Brady, *Crisis in Britain*, 329.
[108] Labour Party, *National Service for Health* (London, 1943), 15, 21.
[109] Labour Party, *The Future of Local Government* (London, 1943), 8.
[110] *National Service for Health*, 21.
[111] *Ibid.*, 13.
[112] *Ibid.*, 18.
[113] *Sessional Papers*, 1943–44, VIII, cmd. 6502.
[114] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1944* (London, 1944), 151 ff.
[115] *Ibid., 1945* (London, 1945), 138–40.

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wood policy of state subsidies in favor of a return to the 1920 idea of state loans at low interest.[116] Housing was the issue on which, according to a public opinion poll, the electorate felt strongest,[117] and in its election manifesto Labour promised that it would set up a separate ministry of housing.[118] Education was the one major sector of the welfare state of the 1940's for which legislation was passed before the war ended. The Butler Education Act of 1944 followed closely the "Labour Secondary Education for All" policy of 1922, and Labour was closely implicated in it through R. A. Butler's second-in-command, Chuter Ede. The attempt of Labour backbenchers to strike a mortal blow at the class basis of the British educational system by an amendment to make all schools free was resisted.[119]

The 1945 general election put Labour into office with a commanding majority. All political parties, it is true, were committed to bringing in some form of welfare state. In that sense the emergence of the welfare state in Britain can be seen as the product of a specific phase in capitalist development, precipitated by the experience of the Second World War. But Labour had said enough in the previous few years to reveal the distinctive image that it wished to give the postwar welfare state: it had, before the appearance of the *Beveridge Report,* stated its own "four essentials":

> We have to provide full employment; we have to rebuild Britain to standards worthy of the men and women who have preserved it; we have to organise social services at a level which secures adequate health, nutrition, and care in old age, for all citizens; and we have to provide educational opportunities for all which ensure that our cultural heritage is denied to none.[120]

It fell down in its failure to realize the extent of the changes necessary to realize this image, and, curiously, in its continued failure to appreciate the central importance of education. In a sense it was a prisoner of the twin Fabian and ILP-local government traditions of taking the existing structure of welfare provisions as given and from there working out the desirable improvements. It also put too much faith in the naturally enduring quality of the social harmony and community spirit engendered by the war. The ideal image existed; a series of policies on the different aspects of welfare legislation existed—some dating from the forties, some with a much longer ancestry—but all this did not add up to one integrated policy, despite constant lip service to the principle of "unification" and an addiction, after 1945, to

[116] Labour Party, *Housing and Planning after the War* (London, n.d.), 8.
[117] R.B. McCallum and Alison Readman, *The British General Election of 1945* (London, 1947), 237.
[118] Labour Party, *Let Us Face the Future* (London, 1945).
[119] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 5th Ser., CCCXCVIII (Mar. 28, 1944), col. 1287.
[120] Labour Party, *The Old World and the New Society* (London, 1942), 11.

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talking about the "mosaic" of social services that Labour would fit together.[121] The mosaic quickly became a crazy pavement.

In passing the major acts that established the contemporary welfare state, Labour was governed not only by its own recent pronouncements but also by attitudes formed over a much longer period. It was guided by the best contemporary expert thinking as embodied in the *Beveridge Report,* and it was restricted by the lines of action that the coalition government had already laid down. It was hemmed in by the grim facts of the postwar economic situation and was affected by all the pressures, whether of official civil service opinion or of outside vested interests, that are brought to bear on any democratic government, however strong its majority.

In its social security legislation the Labour government accepted completely, as MacDonald had done in 1911, the inevitability of insurance. As against an earlier hostility to the contributory principle, there was an even deeper hostility to any sort of "dole" to which prior entitlement had not been secured. Along with the insurance principle went a whole wilderness of qualification and requalification conditions and limits upon the length of time for which benefits would be paid. Heavily attacked by Left-wing Labour backbenchers,[122] this respectable core to the act remained substantially intact, preserving the fiction of insurance and providing employment for an army of administrators. In the end the friendly societies were not given a place inside the new system, but, despite earlier Labour sentiment on the subject, private insurance outside the state system was left untrammeled—perhaps one of the largest single reasons why the classless welfare state failed to materialize. In introducing the national insurance bill, James Griffiths claimed that it marked the beginning of the establishment of the "principle of a National Minimum Standard," which is interesting as illustrating the continuity of Labour thought, though scarcely of Labour action since Griffiths declared at the same time that it was administratively impossible to tie benefits to the cost of living,[123] and the government's expressed intention of holding the cost of living steady proved only a pious wish. The inclusion within the national insurance framework of provision for industrial injuries meant the final abandonment of the idea of making such provision a charge on industry itself, an abandonment of an earlier class-war stand that is paralleled in the party's acceptance of family allowances (enacted by Churchill's government before it left office). The

[121] See, e.g., Labour Party, *The Welfare State* (London, 1946); Douglas Houghton, *The Family Circle* (London, 1946); Andrew Gordon, *A Guide to the National Insurance Act of 1946* (London, 1946).

[122] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 5th Ser., CCCCXXIII (May 22, 1946), cols. 369 ff.

[123] *Ibid.,* CCCCXVIII (Feb. 6, 1946), col. 1740.

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preservation of the concept of national insurance demanded the continuance of some form of public assistance; hence the passage of the National Assistance Act of 1948, which, in the wide scope of its provisions did have something of the breadth of the wartime Labour vision. It formally repealed the poor law,[124] though there was still a breath of the nineteenth century about the continuance of the personal Means Test.

The National Health Service Act of 1946 was the only major piece of welfare state legislation whose passage the Conservatives contested.[125] This in itself was a measure of how far the responsible minister, Aneurin Bevan, was in advance of the political "consensus" on welfare issues. By plunging directly into the nationalization of the hospitals, Bevan, too, showed himself to be in advance of the previous vague Labour utterances on the subject. But he was unable, after long negotiations with the medical profession, to persuade it to accept the official Labour policy of a fully salaried service. His big failure, and it was a critical failure on the part of the whole government, was to carry through the local government reforms that *National Service for Health* had declared to be basic to the entire program. The new national health service, therefore, began with a clumsy tripartite administrative structure which the strict control vested in the Minister of Health could not really mitigate. The only vestiges of the regional ideal appeared in the system for hospital administration: local executive councils, with strong professional representation, looked after the General Practitioner services, and a place was reserved for the old local authorities, to whom was entrusted the task of building health centers, which the Labour planners of the 1920's had recognized as being of vital importance to any efficient public medical service. Few health centers were built.

Labour's housing legislation, again Bevan's responsibility, provides a good example of the universalist principle: public housing, it was made clear in the debates on the 1946 act and repeated explicitly in the 1949 act, was to be available to the whole community, not to the working classes alone.[126] But this good intention, whose success in the first place depended on a class unity that did not survive the war, foundered completely on the sheer failure of the government to build desperately needed houses. Bevan, who is alleged to have made the outrageous remark, "I never spent more than an hour a week on housing. Housing runs itself,"[127] was clearly too preoccupied with the problems of launching the national health service. The

[124] 11 & 12 Geo. VI, Chap. xxix, cl. 1.
[125] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates*, 5th Ser., CCCCXXII (Apr. 30, 1946), cols. 43 ff.
[126] *Ibid.*, CCCCXXI (Mar. 26, 1946), col. 236; 12 & 13 Geo. VI, Chap. lx, cl. 1.
[127] Hugh Dalton, *High Tide and After: Memoirs 1945–1960* (London, 1962), 358.

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government was rightly criticized by the Labour rank and file for its failure to keep the election promise to set up a separate ministry of housing.[128] Nor did the government follow its avowed policy of financing housing by loans at low interest; instead it adhered to the stereotype of annual government subsidies, in face of Left-wing opposition.[129] In education, the government was content, mainly by administrative action, to implement, as far as possible, the terms of the 1944 act. The more imaginative side of its vision of the welfare state is better seen in the town and country planning legislation, in its modest support for the arts, and, of course, in the direction of its economic policies toward the maintenance of full employment.

When Labour fell from office in 1951 it left behind several imposing chunks of masonry instead of the complete welfare edifice it had hoped to build; the cement of social harmony and community spirit that it had believed would bind the whole together was already crumbling. Its endeavors had, nonetheless, permanently changed the social face of Britain. And these endeavors were not simply the inevitable response that any government would have made to the particular historical circumstances of 1945. They were the endeavors of a political party that, over a long period of time, had thought hard, if unevenly, about the issues of welfare policy. This paper began with a number of quotations. Enough has been said, it is submitted, to show that the Cole and Brady versions, even if a trifle facile, come closer to the truth than the interpretations of those historians who have followed an established fashion in neglecting earlier Labour pronouncements on welfare policy.

[128] Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report, 1949* (London, 1949), 211.

[129] *Official Report, House of Commons Debates,* 5th Ser., CCCCXXI (Mar. 26, 1946), cols. 266 ff.

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National Socialism: Totalitarianism or Fascism?

WOLFGANG SAUER*

IT is only two decades since National Socialism has left the scene, and yet the literature dealing with it is already immense. The fifty-year rule, never much respected by historians, has been quickly ignored in the face of so provoking a subject. This was all the more easy since, in this case, no Cerberus guarded the gates of the archives. Never before in the history of historiography did the documentary record of events become accessible to historians so quickly and comprehensively. One of the thought-provoking effects of this state of affairs is that historians suddenly have begun to wonder whether this surfeit of documents may not be, as one of them put it in a recent review, "a source of confusion rather than clarification."[1]

One way to avoid confusion is to define clearly the concepts and theories used in interpreting Nazism and to evaluate them in terms of the available evidence. Such an enterprise may seem all the more urgent since well-established concepts have become questionable in recent years. The following discussion attempts to clarify the problem. It first surveys past efforts of interpretation, then reviews present studies in this field, and, finally, develops some suggestions for further interpretive analyses.

The study of Nazism has so far traversed three periods with the two turning points being the outbreak of the Second World War and the start of the cold war.[2] In the first period, prior to 1939, scholars tended to explain National Socialism in terms of fascism. Adolf Hitler seemed merely a German variant of Benito Mussolini, and both appeared, during the Great Depression and the popular front, to be but varieties of the agony of capitalism. Many writers were strongly influenced by socialist thought and, what is more, by socialist hopes. They sensed a profound revolutionary change in

* Mr. Sauer, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, wrote Part III of Karl Dietrich Bracher *et al., Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung: Studien zur Errichtung des totalitären Herrschaftssystems in Deutschland* (2d ed., Cologne, 1962). This article is an enlarged version of a paper presented to the Conference Group for Central European History at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, California, December 28, 1965.

[1] Walter Laqueur, "Nazism and the Nazis: On the Difficulties of Discovering the Whole Truth," *Encounter*, XXII (Apr. 1964), 41.

[2] For an earlier bibliographical survey, see Andrew G. Whiteside, "The Nature and Origins of National Socialism," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, XVII (No. 1, 1957–58), 48–73.

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their time and interpreted it in terms of Marx's prophecies of the coming of the classless society. From this point of view, the rise of fascism in many parts of Europe appeared as a desperate last effort of monopoly capitalists to reassert their control over the masses against the tide of socialism, using the stick of terror and the carrot of pseudo socialism. Fascism, in this view, was understood as a mere manipulation by big business. The outstanding example of this approach was Franz L. Neumann's *Behemoth* with its emphasis on social and economic analysis.[3]

Historiography proper started with the Second World War. Under the impact of the war situation and in view of a growing awareness among social scientists of the differences between Nazism and other forms of fascism, authors tended to interpret the former as a Germanism, that is, some particularly German form of social disease. Studies focused, consequently, on the historical roots of Nazism and analyzed them especially in terms of intellectual history. The tendency of scholars in this field to stress logical sequences in historical developments may have contributed to the well-known deterministic interpretation of German history. A. J. P. Taylor's *Course of German History*[4] is characteristic of this determinism, though Taylor did not emphasize intellectual history. German responses after 1945 varied from the apologetic tone of Gerhard Ritter to the searching analysis of Friedrich Meinecke and the universal view of Ludwig Dehio.[5]

In the third period, starting with the cold war, the prevalent interpretation was that of totalitarianism. Nazism now appeared as but one form of a more general disease of modern society similar to Communism. Socialist hopes had yielded to deep pessimism in light of such staggering and embarrassing experiences as World War II, the rule of Stalinism in Russia and in Eastern Europe, and the rise of mass society, automation, and managerial bureaucracy in the West. Instead of the end of capitalism, the end of civilization seemed to loom ahead. Characteristic is the change in the attitude of Neumann who referred, in the early 1950's, to Sigmund Freud's idea that "conflicts deepen with the process of civilization, for . . . the increasing technical progress which in itself ought to make possible a greater measure of instinct gratification, fails to do so."[6] What was true of former Marxists was

[3] Franz L. Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism* (2d ed., New York, 1944).

[4] A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (London, 1945; 2d ed., New York, 1962).

[5] Gerhard Ritter, *Europa und die deutsche Frage* (Munich, 1948), *Das deutsche Problem: Grundfragen deutschen Staatslebens gestern und heute* (new rev. ed., Munich, 1962); Friedrich Meinecke, *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (Wiesbaden, 1946), tr. as *The German Catastrophe* (Boston, 1963); Ludwig Dehio, *Gleichgewicht und Hegemonie* (Krefeld, 1948), tr. as *The Precarious Balance* (New York, 1965).

[6] Franz L. Neumann, *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 273.

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no less true of conservatives. To writers such as Hannah Arendt, Carl Joachim Friedrich, and Jacob L. Talmon,[7] totalitarianism appeared more or less a kind of suicide of civilization, a dialectical reversal by which progress turned against itself. Their studies stressed the omnipotence and the monolithic structure of totalitarian regimes and analyzed them in terms of the relationships between ideology and terror and between elites and masses.

It should be noted, however, that this survey deals with shifts in emphasis among interpretations and not with the replacement of one interpretation by another. Actually, the theories of fascism, Germanism, and totalitarianism coexisted to a degree from the outset.[8] In addition, a fourth interpretation that has emerged since the war defines Nazism as but a modern variant of classical tyranny. Held mainly by British historians, this view rejects the thesis advanced by Friedrich and others that totalitarian dictatorship is an entirely new phenomenon, unprecedented in history; the British school stresses, instead, historical continuity. In this regard it approaches the thesis of Dehio who interpreted Nazism as the last link in a long chain of European struggles for hegemony. The case of tyranny has been most powerfully argued by Alan Bullock in his biography of Hitler, but similar views have been held both by Hugh Trevor-Roper, who compared what he called Hitler's court to the late Roman monarchy, and by Taylor, who recently argued that Hitler was but a traditional statesman.[9] The discontinuity thesis has been rejected, interestingly enough, also for Communism. Karl Wittfogel, for example, has maintained that a continuity runs from Oriental despotism to modern Communist totalitarianism in Russia and China.[10]

These historicist interpretations in terms of classical tyranny or Oriental despotism have so far been what might be called a minority opinion. Yet they should be noted the more carefully since the totalitarianism approach has generally begun to lose ground since the end of the 1950's. Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist and coexistence policies, the conflict between Russian and Chinese Communism, and a growing awareness in the West that industrial society might eventually produce mass prosperity rather than deadly conflict —all these developments militated against the apocalyptic visions of the totalitarianism theory. In addition, scholars had meanwhile begun to pene-

[7] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (2d, enlarged ed., Cleveland, 1958); Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); Jacob L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London, 1952).

[8] The shifts in emphasis can clearly be observed if one rearranges the works quoted in Whiteside, "Nature and Origins of National Socialism," according to date of publication.

[9] Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (rev. ed., New York, 1960); Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler* (London, 1947); A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (London, 1961).

[10] Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, Conn., 1957).

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trate the mountains of documentary material and had gained a closer view of the historical realities of the Third *Reich*. These realities proved to be quite different from the monolithic image of totalitarianism. If we compare, for example, the view of Nazi rule as it emerges from Friedrich's studies to that which appears in Robert Koehl's article on "Feudal Aspects of National Socialism,"[11] we might wonder whether the two authors are talking about the same subject.

An unfortunate effect of using the totalitarianism approach is the emergence of a striking imbalance in covering the field of Nazi history. While we have an abundance of studies on the Nazi terror system, on military and war history, and on the history of the resistance, we know little or nothing about the problems of Nazi domestic politics and social history after 1934. The feuds within and between the bureaucracy and the party, the organization and social composition of the party and most of its affiliated organizations, the Nazi economic policy, particularly the Four-Year Plan, the effects of this policy and of the war on German society, and the attitude of various social groups, particularly of the workers, toward the Nazi government are subjects of major importance that are neglected to a surprising degree by studies of Nazism.[12] Even in the case of Nazi ideology, we know more about its roots and about its propaganda system[13] than about its structure and its functional role in the social system.

Such evidence seems clearly to suggest that a revision of the existing conceptual framework is needed. To be sure, the totalitarianism theory cannot be dismissed entirely. Modern dictatorships have undoubtedly developed new characteristics, and totalitarianism is certainly one of them. It is, however, hardly as important as the totalitarianism theory has maintained. The theory of Germanism has been abandoned already as a possible alternative; William Shirer's attempt to revive it was a popular rather than a scholarly success.[14] The question as to why Nazism rose just in Germany certainly remains, but scholars seem generally to agree that the understanding of the

[11] Robert Koehl, "Feudal Aspects of National Socialism," *American Political Science Review*, LIV (Dec. 1960), 921–33.

[12] For some recent studies indicating a change, see note 19, below. One of the neglected topics is the story of rescuers of Jews. Research in this field has recently been organized by Rabbi Harold M. Schulweis in the Institute for the Righteous Acts, Oakland, California. For an earlier attempt, see Kurt R. Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunkelsten Tagen* (Berlin, 1957).

[13] The most recent contributions are Zbynek A. B. Zeman, *Nazi Propaganda* (Oxford, Eng., 1964), and Ernest K. Bramsted, *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda, 1925–1945* (East Lansing, Mich., 1965). Hajo Holborn, "Origins and Political Character of Nazi Ideology," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXIX (Dec. 1964), 542–54, gives valuable suggestions for a comprehensive analysis. Specifically, the press is treated by Oron J. Hale, *The Captive Press in the Third Reich* (Princeton, N. J., 1964).

[14] William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York, 1960).

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problem needs a wider horizon than a mere national perspective can provide.

Recent writings even show a tendency to conceive the responsibility for the Nazi atrocities in a broader way than before. This problem has caused three of the most passionate debates in recent years: the controversies over Arendt's comment on Adolph Eichmann, over Rolf Hochhuth's criticism of Pope Pius XII, and over Taylor's new *coup de main* on the established thesis regarding the origins of the Second World War.[15] Historiography has gained from these debates mainly by the stimulation they provided. Books like Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* and Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde's critical article on German Catholicism in 1933[16] had dealt even earlier with similar problems. Taylor's book, however, raises a major historiographical problem that deserves brief discussion here.

Taylor's thesis is professedly an attempt to anticipate a revision of historical opinion, which he believes will eventually occur as it did after World War I. But the idea of revision arose after 1918 from original research rather than from a consideration of what future historians might say. Taylor's results are not, however, too convincing in terms of research. His thesis seems to be, therefore, but an attempt to escape a condition that is at least uncommon, if not unprecedented, in historiography. In Nazism, the historian faces a phenomenon that leaves him no way but rejection, whatever his individual position. There is literally no voice worth considering that disagrees on this matter, and it is probably not accidental that Taylor felt the stress of the situation most strongly.[17] Does not such fundamental rejection imply a fundamental lack of understanding? And if we do not understand, how can we write history? The term "understanding" has, certainly, an ambivalent meaning; we can reject and still "understand." And yet, our intellectual, and psychological, capacities reach, in the case of Nazism, a border undreamed of by Wilhelm Dilthey. We can work out explanatory theories, but, if we face the facts directly, all explanations appear weak.

Thus, the attempt to write the history of Nazism confronts the historian with an apparently unsolvable dilemma and raises the question of what historical understanding and historical objectivity may mean in the face of Nazism. One of the merits of the totalitarianism theory was that it took care of this condition; from this point of view, one might be tempted to define it as a scholarly formulation of our lack of understanding.

[15] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York, 1963); Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (Hamburg, 1963) tr. as *The Deputy* (New York, 1964); Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*.

[16] Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago, 1961); Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, "Der deutsche Katholizismus im Jahre 1933," *Hochland*, LIII (No. 3, 1961), 215–39.

[17] For a historiographical analysis of Taylor's work, see Edward B. Segel, "A. J. P. Taylor and History," *Review of Politics*, XXVI (Oct. 1964), 531–46.

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Is there a better way to conceal our weakness? Among the established concepts one remains: fascism. To be sure, the theory of fascism has also suffered severely from both the politics of and the historical studies on Nazism. This concerned, however, the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of fascism, and it may be worthwhile to ask if this interpretation is the only possible one. Attempts have indeed been made recently to repair the damaged tool for use. Some outstanding examples are Seymour Lipset's *Political Man,* which contains a comprehensive study of fascism on the basis of election analyses; Iring Fetscher's article on *Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus,* in which the author explicitly aims at a refutation of the Marxist concept of fascism; Eugen Weber's works on the *Action Française* and the European Right; and Ernst Nolte's volume *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* of which an English translation has meanwhile appeared. Mention must also be made in this context of Arthur Schweitzer's *Big Business in the Third Reich* in which the author attempts, unsuccessfully, I believe, to fuse elements of Max Weber's and Marxist theories.[18] These works constitute, as a whole and despite differences in approach and position, the first serious attempt to develop a workable, non-Marxist concept of fascism. Their results are less conclusive regarding the relationship between fascism and totalitarianism; this issue needs further clarification. A shift in emphasis toward an interpretation in terms of fascism is, nevertheless, unmistakable. In this context it is notable that works like William S. Allen's study of Nazi rule in a northern German town, Schweitzer's study, and Alan S. Milward's brilliant book on *The German Economy at War*[19] show a disposition of historians to turn to the neglected topics of Nazi history. In the case of Schweitzer the turn is obviously related to the fascism approach; his book continues the earlier analysis of Neumann. Allen and Milward, by contrast, seem to have chosen their subjects without major theoretical considerations.[20] But whatever the reasons for this turn, the tendency expressed in all of these works seems to be the most characteristic development in recent studies of Nazism.

[18] Seymour M. Lipset, *Political Man* (New York, 1960), Chap. v; Iring Fetscher, "Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus: Zur Kritik des sowjetmarxistischen Faschismusbegriffs," *Politische Vierteljahrsschrift,* III (Mar. 1962), 42–63; Eugen Weber, *Action Française* (Stanford, Calif., 1962); *The European Right: A Historical Profile,* ed. Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber (Berkeley, Calif., 1964); Eugen Weber, *Varieties of Fascism* (Princeton, N. J., 1964); Ernst Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (Munich, 1963), tr. as *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York, 1966); Arthur Schweitzer, *Big Business in the Third Reich* (Bloomington, Ind., 1964).

[19] William S. Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930–1935* (Chicago, 1965); Alan S. Milward, *The German Economy at War* (London, 1965). Since the completion of this article in May 1966, further studies have been published confirming this trend and covering many of the hitherto neglected subjects.

[20] Allen tends, in fact, to use the totalitarianism concept, but his results disprove largely his thesis that Nazi rule led to an "atomization" of society. (See, e.g., Allen, *Nazi Seizure of Power,* 278.)

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Leaving aside the mainly empirical studies of Allen and Milward, we may ask what image of fascism emerges from these works. A summary is naturally difficult in view of the differences in individual positions, and yet there are two closely related points of agreement. First, the authors agree that fascism is not, as the Marxist interpretation holds, merely a manipulation by monopoly capitalists: it is a mass movement with a character and aim of its own, indicating a major crisis in liberal democracy and capitalism. Whether or not this crisis is temporary remains controversial. Second, it is now established beyond doubt that the lower middle classes, both rural and urban, were at least one of the major social components of fascist movements.

There are also many divergences and discrepancies, however. Some confusion exists regarding the distinction between fascist movements and fascist regimes. Fetscher's analysis shows that fascist movements can ally, in view of their basic opportunism, with a wide variety of other groups; Schweitzer has exemplified this in the case of Nazism.[21] Consequently, there may be a marked difference between the original, relatively homogeneous fascist movements prior to the seizure of power and what emerges as fascist regimes after that event. This leads to the equally important problem of the relationships between fascist movements and their allies. For example, Lipset's interesting definition of fascism as the extremism of the liberal Center, in contrast to Right-wing extremism and Left-wing extremism (Communism), does not sufficiently explain why fascist regimes were frequently built on alliances with conservatives while alliances with Communists never materialized. Which social groups, then, were likely to become allies of fascist movements, and what functional role did these alliances play in the structure of the individual fascist regimes?

Other questions concern the social composition and the revolutionary aims of the movements. On the first question, most authors limit their analysis to the lower middle class and the problems of its definition. This is, indeed, an important issue since the concept of the lower middle class still needs clarification, both in itself and in relation to the varieties of fascist supporters. Historical evidence shows that support of fascism may not be confined to the classical elements of the lower middle class (*Mittelstand*—peasants, artisans, small businessmen, and so forth), but may extend to a wide variety of groups in the large field between the workers on the one hand and big business, the aristocracy, and the top levels of bureaucracy on

[21] Schweitzer, *Big Business*, distinguishes two periods in the Nazi rule: "partial Fascism" with alliances between fascism and other groups until 1936 and "full Fascism" after this date. The thesis is basically correct (see page 419, below), though Schweitzer is too rigid on several points. (Cf. Carl Landauer's criticism, *Journal of Economic History*, XXV [1965], 293–95.)

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the other. This evidence agrees, interestingly enough, with Leo Baeck's statement that it was among the workers, the aristocracy, and the upper strata of the civil servants that the Jews found strongest support against persecution in Germany.[22]

Important as such an analysis is, however, it is still incomplete; it neglects the military element as a major social component of fascist movements. The military is apparently still not a category for social analysts. Among the authors quoted, only Fetscher recognizes its importance to fascism. It may even be said that a distinct interest group was formed within the fascist mixture by what might be called the military desperadoes, veterans of the First World War and the postwar struggles, who had not been reintegrated into either the civilian society or the armed forces. In an age of mass armies they were a sizable minority. Having become primitive warriors in four years and more of struggles, they sought to return into the arms of the mother army and to reform it according to their own model. Their conflict with society was, hence, not mainly economic, though this factor certainly was not absent. The main conflict was that between militarism and pacifism. In a time when the League of Nations appealed to the widespread war-weariness and the rising pacifism of the masses, the military desperadoes fought, not only for their own survival, but for the survival of soldiery in general.

The desperadoes were, thus, natural participants in the fascist revolution, but they did not merge entirely in the movement. Both in Italy and Germany the social differentiation was reflected in varying degrees in organizational differentiations between the party and the militia or the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), respectively. This indicates that the conflict over militarism re-emerged in varied form within the fascist movements. What was a conflict of principles in the relationship between the military desperadoes and society was a conflict of preferences in the fascist movements. The lower-middle-class groups and the military desperadoes considered each other as tools. The lower-middle-class members regarded the military desperadoes as a weapon to force their way into government; the military desperadoes hoped that the lower-middle-class members would provide the mass basis without which they could not expect to rule.

After the seizure of power the smoldering conflict within the fascist movements had to be resolved if the fascist regimes were to last. In Germany the conflict was terminated by Hitler when, in June 1934, he crushed the Röhm "revolt" which was, as I should like to maintain against Hermann

[22] *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, ed. Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf (Berlin, 1955), 439.

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Mau and others, predominantly a movement of the military desperadoes.[23] To be sure, the SA contained in its rank and file large parts of the lower-middle-class Nazi supporters, but Ernst Röhm had ousted their representative in the leadership of the SA, Chief of Staff Otto Wagener, immediately after he assumed office in 1931.[24] Röhm was, and always remained, the leader of the military desperadoes, and he defended their interests in 1934. He may have received some lower-middle-class support, so that his opposition might appear, consequently, as an embryonic revolt of the movement against Hitler's alliance with big business and the *Reichswehr*. Yet Röhm's opposition was aimed as much against the Nazi party as against Hitler, and his victory would invariably have led to a conflict with, and possibly a defeat of, the lower-middle-class forces. They were not better off with Hitler, however; the party won against Röhm, but lost against Hitler (and, *nota bene,* Heinrich Himmler and Hjalmar Schacht). Hitler's victory prevented the pending conflict within the movement from breaking through the façade of the *Volksgemeinschaft,* and rearmament "resolved" the conflict by securing occupations both for all types of business and for the desperadoes. It may be added that basically the same situation existed in Italy, though things were somewhat different, and, above all, less radical, there. One wonders whether Mussolini's imperialist adventure in Abyssinia did not play a role equivalent to Hitler's crushing of the Röhm revolt.[25]

The control fascist regimes achieved over the dynamism of their movements creates doubts concerning the revolutionary character of fascist movements. There is virtual agreement among scholars that fascist movements contained, contrary to the Marxist thesis, a true revolutionary potential. This seems to conflict, however, with the noted opportunism of these movements. Rudolf Heberle's well-known study on the Schleswig-Holstein peasants, recently republished in its unabridged German form,[26] first revealed this point, and Lipset has now been able to generalize Heberle's results. A look at the fascist regimes in operation, moreover, would show that,

[23] Hermann Mau, "Die 'zweite Revolution'—der 30. Juni 1934," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* I (Apr. 1953), 121. Cf. my analysis of the SA and the Röhm crisis in Karl Dietrich Bracher *et al., Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung: Studien zur Errichtung des totalitären Herrschaftssystems in Deutschland* (2d ed., Cologne, 1962), 829–966. In the present article, I have tried to supplement the political analysis of my earlier study by adding a social dimension.

[24] Cf. Bracher *et al., Nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung,* 882–83.

[25] See Gaetano Salvemini, *Under the Axe of Fascism* (New York, 1936), 391. Salvemini's suggestion of a comparison between Mussolini's Abyssinian war and Hitler's Röhm purge has so far not been taken up by historians.

[26] Rudolf Heberle, *Landbevölkerung und Nationalsozialismus: Eine soziologische Untersuchung der politischen Willensbildung in Schleswig-Holstein 1918 bis 1932* (Stuttgart, 1963), tr. as *From Democracy to Nazism: A Regional Case Study on Political Parties in Germany* (Baton Rouge, La., 1945).

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whatever the revolutionary potential of the movements, the revolutionary results were meager.

How can this problem be resolved? May an answer be found by setting fascism in a wider historical framework? This is the way Nolte approaches his subject, but his answer is suggestive rather than conclusive. He advances the thesis that fascism was a revolt against the universal process of secularization, democratization, and international integration in the modern era. When this process reached its critical stage in the period of the two world wars, those elements in the culture that were doomed to perish revolted, according to Nolte, with increasing radicalism and decreasing rationality, or, in national terms, from the French *Action Française* through Italian Fascism to German National Socialism. On the last, most radical stage, fascism turned, Nolte argues, into a resistance against what he calls the "transcendence." He does not succeed, however, in clarifying this point sufficiently.

Nolte's thesis is not new in terms of facts. Its originality lies in assigning a metaphysical dimension to the fascist revolt and definitely attaching this revolt to a historical period. Fascism, Nolte suggests, is dead. This is, on the one hand, a more optimistic variation of the totalitarianism analysis; on the other hand, he tries to ascribe a historical meaning to fascism, which would provide a starting point for historical understanding. Much of this remains abstract and vague, however—mere *Ideengeschichte*. If the modernization process was universal, was fascist revolt also universal? If so, why does Nolte deal only with France, Italy, and Germany? If not, why did the fascist revolt occur only in these (and some other) countries? And what was the cause for differentiation? Why was this revolt most radical in Germany? Or, to put the question in a sociological rather than a national form, which social groups provided the mass basis of fascism, and why were just these groups antimodernist in their orientation? Why did the antimodernist fascist revolt frequently foster industrialization? And, finally, what exactly does "transcendence" mean, and by which concrete means did the fascist resistance against it manifest itself?

Nolte's neglect of these questions can be attributed primarily to his method, which he calls "phenomenological" and which he conceives as an attempt to return to G. W. F. Hegel's integration of philosophy and history.[27] This attempt is, however, problematical. Hegel's striking success in synthesizing philosophy and history depended on his dialectical "logic"; Nolte's method is not dialectical. Nor does Nolte develop an alternative. He has not succeeded, therefore, in invalidating Leopold von Ranke's argument against Hegel that philosophy in itself does not produce a method for

[27] Nolte, *Der Faschismus*, 516–17.

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the analysis and organization of empirical facts. Philosophy alone was, indeed, not sufficient for Nolte; his phenomenological method turns out, under scrutiny, to be essentially Dilthey's good, old method of empathy, supplemented by some fragmentary social-scientific concepts formed *ad hoc* to satisfy immediate needs.

To be sure, Nolte makes this method operative by confining his study mainly to an interpretation of the ideas of the fascist leaders—Charles Maurras, Mussolini, Hitler—and he achieves much in this way, especially with regard to psychological and ideological analysis. Such a biographical approach is too narrow, however, to support Nolte's generalizations. What is true of the fascist leaders is not necessarily true of the masses of their followers. Their attitudes and motivation can be recognized only by a social analysis that includes economic factors. Nolte would perhaps respond to such a suggestion with as much contempt as he shows for the use of the concept of industrialization.[28] What does his concept of "practical transcendence" mean, however, if not that economic factors have adopted in modern societies a significance that transcends their "materialistic" meaning? And if this is true, how can we expect to gain meaningful results about modern societies without taking these factors into account? Nolte's method, in fact, seems to conflict heavily with his concept of "practical transcendence."

This must raise some doubts about the origin of Nolte's thesis of fascism as an antimodernist revolt. Indeed, he seems to have obtained his thesis, not through his biographical analyses, but rather through an analysis of Maurras's ideas. Nolte's decision, not too plausible at first glance, to raise the *Action Française* to a prominent position in the history of the origins of fascism, has, actually, methodological rather than historical reasons. The *Action Française* is important to Nolte because Maurras succeeded in building an intellectual bridge between the counterrevolutionary tradition and fascism, thereby establishing a unified concept of antimodernism that Nolte found apparently suggestive as an analytical concept for his own study. His chapter on the *Action Française* is, thus, actually a part of his methodological introduction.

The conclusion that Nolte arrived at his thesis in a methodologically irregular way does not necessarily imply that the thesis is wrong. It does imply, however, that he has not proven his case. Fascism and counterrevolution are actually different social phenomena, the latter being the earlier position of a part of what has been defined here as the allies of fascism. Fascism had its own independent antecedents: pseudo revolutionaries like Father Jahn and the anti-Semites of the 1880's and 1890's (as examples in Ger-

[28] *Ibid.*, 541.

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many).[29] To be sure, counterrevolution showed a combination of revolutionary and reactionary elements similar to fascism, but it was a revolution from above while fascism is a revolution from below. The discussion of Maurras by Nolte explains, therefore, the possibility of the fascist-conservative alliance, but it does not explain fascism. Nor does Nolte provide a satisfying answer to the question of the origins of fascism, especially in the German case. Nolte's chapters on pre-1914 Germany and Austria are in fact among the weakest in his book, though this is owing partly to Nolte's general weakness in historical knowledge.

These criticisms do not, however, detract from the value of the book, which is a major step forward in the study of fascism. If verified, Nolte's hypothesis can offer, for example, an explanation for the fascist tendencies in the military; its metaphysical implications might, in addition, open a way to understand certain aspects in the relationship between the churches and fascism. Nolte might indeed have achieved his aim of developing a comprehensive theory of fascism had it not been for his mistaken conception of the relationship of philosophy and history and his refusal to consider the socioeconomic aspects of the problem.

The task is, then, to provide the non-Marxist theory of fascism with a socioeconomic dimension; more precisely, the task is to bring the earlier attempts of this kind up to date. Some contributors to the discussion in the 1930's have already laid important foundations for a socioeconomic theory of fascism.[30] We have only to adjust these foundations to today's advanced stage of practical experience, historical research, and theoretical thought. With regard to theory the most important recent contribution probably comes from economic historians who have worked out, on the basis of the experiences of both the Great Depression and the underdeveloped countries, a non-Marxist concept of economic development that is highly suggestive to the analysis of fascism.

The attempt to use this concept for the interpretation of fascism poses, of

[29] The German anti-Semitic movement around 1900 has attracted, understandably enough, much attention in recent years. It is important to note, however, that it was only a part of a broader trend that extended to France (the Dreyfus affair, Edouard Drumont) and Austria (Karl Lueger and the Christian-Social party). As a whole, it has not yet been sufficiently investigated; Nolte (*Der Faschismus*) and Weber (*Action Française*) focus on France while Peter G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York, 1964), disregards France.

[30] Harold D. Lasswell, "The Psychology of Hitlerism," *Political Quarterly* (No. 4, 1933), 373–84; David J. Saposs, "The Role of the Middle Class in Social Development: Fascism, Populism, Communism, Socialism," in *Economic Essays in Honor of Wesley Clair Mitchell, Presented to Him by His Former Students on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (New York, 1935); Talcott Parsons, "Some Sociological Aspects of the Fascist Movement," (1941), reprinted in Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Glencoe, Ill., 1954).

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course, certain problems. The Marxist trap of economic determinism is but a minor difficulty. Apart from the fact that the difference between causes and conditions in social developments has meanwhile become sufficiently familiar to social scientists, it must also be stressed that the main purpose in using, here, an economic theory for a historical analysis is merely a heuristic one. In addition, the "theory of economic growth" is, in the last analysis, not strictly an economic theory. It is rather a historical synthesis of the process of industrialization on the basis of a socioeconomic analysis. Consequently, it already implies that the relationship between social and economic factors is a reversible one. In applying this theory to the interpretation of fascism, we merely shift the perspective without abandoning reversibility.

A more important problem arises because we have to face, as usual, several conflicting formulations of that theory. Only those formulations that focus on continental European conditions, however, are useful to the analysis of fascism. This reduces the number of alternatives to two: the models of Alexander Gerschenkron and W. W. Rostow.[31] If we analyze the results of these two theories with regard to the social context of industrialization, we find that they are complementary. Gerschenkron's theory of "relative backwardness" provides a model of historical differentiation missing in Rostow's "stage" theory, and the latter offers a model for periodization not developed by Gerschenkron.

The critical problem is the development of a model for the advanced period of the industrialization process. Gerschenkron's model of relative backwardness cannot be directly extended to it since it deals with the starting conditions, while Rostow's definition as a stage of "high mass consumption" is still unsatisfactory.[32] Rostow hits, certainly, the essential point: that industry, if it exceeds a certain limit of growth, must turn to mass production. He is also aware that private mass consumption is not the only possible response. Rostow's idea, however, that societies on the stage of mass production have a choice between high mass consumption and national political expansion (or, between private mass consumption and mass consumption by the state), does not entirely agree with the historical evidence. There is certainly an element of choice in the situation; yet it may well be that there are

[31] Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), esp. 1–51, 353–64; W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959); *The Economics of Take-off into Sustained Growth*, ed. *id.* (London, 1963). Cf. the review by Henry Rosovsky, "The Take-off into Sustained Controversy," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (1965), 271–75.

[32] Rosovsky, "The Take-off," 274–75, proposes to replace the concept of "stage" by that of the "long swing." This might, however, deprive the concept of growth of its meaning and would necessitate, therefore, a decision on whether the idea of growth should be abandoned altogether or whether the idea of swing must be adjusted to that of growth. In the latter case, the concept of stage might prove indispensable as a complement.

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also constraints working against a choice. They may be owing to the consequences of relative backwardness, or to differential national developments and resulting international tensions and crises such as war. Rostow neglects the impact of national economic growth on international relations and vice versa; this seems to be, in fact, the major weakness of his theory. If we analyze twentieth-century history from this point of view, we do indeed find a period of world crises (World War I, the Great Depression, World War II) spreading between Rostow's stages of industrial maturity and high mass consumption.

In terms of a theory of economic growth revised in this way, fascism can be defined as a revolt of those who lost—directly or indirectly, temporarily or permanently—by industrialization. Fascism is a revolt of the *déclassés*. The workers and industrialists do not fall under this definition; it applies mainly to most of the lower middle class as defined above. They indeed suffered, or feared they would suffer, from industrialization—peasants who opposed the urbanizing aspects of industrialism; small businessmen and those engaged in the traditional crafts and trades that opposed mechanization or concentration; white-collar workers (at least as long as they felt the loss of economic independence); lower levels of the professions, especially the teaching profession, which opposed changing social values; and so forth. Also the military joins here, with opposition against the industrialization of war, which tended to destroy traditional modes of warfare and which by its increasing destructiveness intensified pacifism and antimilitarism. On the other hand, groups like the aristocracy, the large landlords, the higher bureaucrats, and so on, who lost also by industrialization, generally did not turn to fascism. In continuing the counterrevolutionary position, they defended hierarchical society and abhorred, therefore, the egalitarian elements in fascism. In exact distinction, then, fascist movements represented the reaction of the lower-class losers, while the upper-class losers tended to react in a nonfascist way, but were potential allies of fascist regimes.

Such an analysis seems to be a way of explaining the intriguing paradox of a revolutionary mass movement whose goals were antirevolutionary in the classical sense. As a movement of losers, it turned against technological progress and economic growth; it tried to stop or even to reverse the trend toward industrialization and to return to the earlier, "natural" ways of life. In this respect the movement was reactionary, but, as a movement of the lower classes, its means were necessarily revolutionary. In defining fascism as a revolt of losers, we can also understand better both fascist atavism and fascist opportunism. Since the process of industrialization as a whole is irresistible, the existence of civilization is inextricably bound to it. Fascist revolt

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against industrialization must, therefore, eventually turn against civilization too. This was most evident in Germany, where Nazism developed into full-fledged neobarbarism, but it is also true of the other fascist movements, though for various reasons neobarbarism remained, there, more or less underdeveloped. Such a definition of fascism as a neobarbaric revolt against civilization seems to describe in more concrete terms what Nolte calls the resistance against the "transcendence."

The same condition led to fascist opportunism. Since fascists acted, as losers, essentially from a position of weakness, they were compelled, in spite of their tendency toward violence, to compromise with their environment, even with their industrial enemy. This accounts for the contradiction that fascist regimes often fostered industrialization and yet insisted, ultimately, upon setting the clock back. The dialectic that resulted from this condition led eventually to a point at which the movement assumed suicidal proportions. Industrialization was sought in order to destroy industrial society, but since there was no alternative to industrial society, the fascist regime must eventually destroy itself. This was the situation of Nazism. The Nazis built an industrial machinery to murder the Jews, but once in operation the machine would have had to continue and would have ruined, indirectly at least, first the remnants of civilized society and then the fascist regime. Industrialization of mass murder was, thus, the only logical answer Nazism had to the problems of industrial society.

The analysis of fascism in terms of economic growth also offers a way to define more precisely the fallacy in the Marxist-Leninist concept of fascism. The fallacy lies in that Marxism blurs the distinction between early commercial and late industrial capitalism. Fascism indicated a conflict within capitalism, between traditional forms of commercialism and the modern form of industrialism. The fact that the former had survived in the twentieth century only on the lower levels of the middle classes accounted for the social locus of fascism. It is true, therefore, that fascism was capitalist by nature; it is not true that it was industrial. It is also true that fascist regimes often were manipulated in varying ways and degrees, but the share of industrialists in manipulation was rather small. Fetscher shows convincingly that the share was indeed larger in industrially underdeveloped Italy than it was in industrially advanced Germany.

On the other hand, the difference between fascism and Bolshevism appears, in light of this analysis, more fundamental than the totalitarianism analysis would admit. Neither V. I. Lenin nor Joseph Stalin wished to turn the clock back; they not merely wished to move ahead, but they wished to jump ahead. The Bolshevik revolution had many elements of a development

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revolution not unlike those now under way in the underdeveloped countries. One of the striking differences between the two systems appears in the role of the leaders. The social and political order of Bolshevism is relatively independent from the leadership; it is, so to speak, more objective. Fascist regimes, by contrast, are almost identical with their leaders; no fascist regime has so far survived its leader. This is why Bullock's interpretation of Hitler in terms of traditional tyranny has some bearing. The limits of this approach would become evident, I believe, if scholars could be persuaded to balance their interest in Hitler's secret utterances and political and military scheming by also stressing his role as a public speaker. The Nazi mass rallies with their immediate, ecstatic communication between leader and followers were, indeed, what might be called a momentary materialization of the Nazi utopia, at least so far as the "Nordic race" was concerned.[33]

Finally, it is plain from an analysis in terms of economic growth that the degree of radicalization must somehow be related to the degree of industrialization. The more highly industrialized a society, the more violent the reaction of the losers. Thus Germany stood at the top, Italy lagged behind, and Spain and others were at the bottom. In Germany, fascism gained sufficient momentum to oust its allies. By the dismissal of Schacht, Werner von Blomberg, Werner von Fritsch, and Konstantin von Neurath in 1937–1938, the Nazis assumed control over the economy, the army, and the diplomacy, those exact three positions that their conservative allies of January 30, 1933, had deemed it most important to maintain.[34] In Italy a fairly stable balance was sustained between the movement and its various allies until the latter, relying on the monarchy and assisted by Fascism's defeat in war, finally ousted the Fascists. In Spain, a borderline case, the allies assumed control from the outset and never abandoned it. Similar observations can be made with the many cases of pre-, proto-, and pseudofascist regimes in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe.

The thesis of the parallel growth of industrialization and fascist radicalization seems to conflict, however, with the evidence of some highly industrialized societies such as France and England where fascist opposition

[33] This is one of the reasons why the lack of a collection of Hitler's speeches, as complete as technically possible, is one of the most serious obstacles to a successful study of Nazism. Such a collection is indispensable not only for a biography of Hitler (How can we expect to understand a man whose political career was built to such an extent on success as a public speaker if we have no means to analyze him in this role?), but still more for the analysis of the Nazi ideology. Only if we approach the Nazi ideology through a dynamic analysis will we be able to solve the methodological dilemma of dealing rationally with Nazi irrationalism and with whether the Nazi ideology had substance or was merely a tactical function. To this effect we must follow the course of Hitler's thought and its response to the successive political changes, and this can be done only by following him through his speeches.

[34] The focus of present studies on the spectacular Blomberg-Fritsch affair has blurred the comprehensive character and the importance of the change in 1937–1938.

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never gained much momentum. The problem can be solved only by adding a broader historical analysis involving the specific national, social, and cultural traditions that industrialization encountered in individual societies. It is perhaps not accidental that the industrialization process ran relatively smoothly in West European nations whose political rise concurred with the rise of modern civilization since the late Middle Ages. Fascist opposition, by contrast, was strongest in the Mediterranean and Central European regions where the premodern traditions of the ancient Roman and the medieval German and Turkish Empires persisted. The religious division between Protestantism and Catholicism may also have some relevance: one remembers both Max Weber's thesis on the correlation of Protestantism and capitalism and the recent controversy on the attitude of Pope Pius XII toward Fascism and Nazism. In other words, fascism emerged where preindustrial traditions were both strongest and most alien to industrialism and, hence, where the rise of the latter caused a major break with the past and substantial losses to the nonindustrial classes.

This definition is still incomplete, however, since it does not tell why fascism emerged rather simultaneously throughout Europe though the countries affected were on different levels of economic growth. We face here the question of the "epoch" of fascism, raised but not answered by Nolte. The general conditions of fascism as defined above existed, after all, earlier. In Germany, for example, lower-middle-class opposition against industrialization had already emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and accompanied economic growth in varying degrees through all its stages.[35] Why did it not turn into fascism prior to 1914, though it did so on parallel stages of growth in Italy and Spain after the First World War? At this point the importance of the military element for the analysis of fascism becomes apparent again: Only after total war had militarized European societies and had created large military interests were the conditions required for fascism complete.[36] The First World War had tremendously strengthened industrialization in

[35] Already Marx observed the antimodernist attitude of the petty bourgeoisie, though he partly misinterpreted it. The anti-Semitic movement at the end of the century was indicative of the growing radicalization of lower-middle-class opposition. (See Hans Rosenberg, *Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit* [Berlin, 1966]; for France, see André Siegfried, *Tableau politique de la France de l'ouest sous la troisième république* [Paris, 1913], 413; cf. Lipset, *Political Man*, 131–32.)

[36] The *Vaterlandspartei*, organized in 1917 by military and agrarian groups (Alfred von Tirpitz; Wolfgang Kapp) in Germany to support imperialist warfare, was, significantly enough, the first prefascist mass movement. The foundation of the Nazi party later followed the same pattern: Hitler acted originally as an agent of the Munich headquarters of the *Reichswehr*. In addition, Anton Drexler, the founder of the first nucleus of the Nazi party, was a member of the *Vaterlandspartei*. Both the *Reichswehr* officers in Munich and Drexler aimed at overcoming what they felt was the major shortcoming of the *Vaterlandspartei:* it had no appeal to the workers. (Among recent accounts, see Günther Franz-Willing, *Die Hitlerbewegung* [Hamburg, 1962], I.)

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technical terms, but it had diverted it from production to destruction. After the war the victorious nations of the West managed, on the whole, to stabilize industrial society and to return to production, but the defeated nations and those industrially underdeveloped found it extremely difficult to follow the same course. When they met with economic crises, many of them abandoned whatever advance they had made toward democracy and turned to fascism.

This breakdown occurred roughly along the social and cultural lines defined above. If we examine the geographical distribution of fascist regimes in Europe between the two world wars, we find that they emerged mainly in three areas: the Mediterranean coast; the regions of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe; and Germany. In the first area, the original and highly developed Mediterranean urban and commercial civilization that reached back to antiquity faced destruction by the invasion of industrialism as released or accelerated by World War I. Defeat, either imagined as in the case of Italy or real as in the case of Spain at the hands of Abd-el-Krim at Anual in 1921, played an additional role. In the second area, an old feudal civilization struggled with the problems arising out of sudden liberation from Habsburg or tsarist dominations as well as from competition with both Western industrialism and Eastern Bolshevism. Both regions were predominantly Catholic. In the third area, a technologically fully developed industrial society clashed violently with the stubborn resistance of surviving remnants of preindustrial forms of society over who was to pay for defeat and economic crises. Catholicism played, here, a dual and partly contradictory role. On the one hand, it seems to have influenced indirectly Nazism as such top Nazi leaders as Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels were Catholic by origin, and the Vatican was quick to compromise with the Hitler regime. On the other hand, the vast majority of the Catholic population was relatively immune to Nazi temptations. Significantly enough, Protestantism also split, though along somewhat different lines.

These differentiations suggest a division into three subtypes of fascism: the Mediterranean as the "original" one; the various and not too long-lived regimes in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe as a mixed, or not full-fledged, variation; and German Nazism as a special form.

The "epoch" of fascism starts, thus, with the aftermath of the First World War, but when does it end? Eugen Weber and Lipset agree with many scholars who believe that there is no epoch of fascism, that fascism is a general condition of modern society contingent upon crises in liberal democracy.[37] This is certainly indisputable as far as fascist attitudes and movements are concerned; it is quite another problem, however, whether fascist regimes

[37] Weber, *Varieties of Fascism*, 3; Lipset, *Political Man*, Chap. v.

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will emerge again. This emergence seems unlikely for two reasons. First, the socioeconomic development in the highly industrialized societies of the West generally rules out the re-emergence of the historical condition of fascism—a disarrangement of society in which the rise of large masses of *déclassés* coincides with the rise of a sizable group of military desperadoes. There are no longer economic losers of industrialization, at least not on a mass scale, and Charles de Gaulle's victory over the rebellious French military shows that military desperadoes alone will not get very far.[38] In addition, the horrible experience of neobarbarism puts a heavy burden on all attempts at imitation. If the success of fascism under modern, Western conditions is unlikely, there remain, theoretically, the underdeveloped countries as possible breeding grounds of fascism. Yet it is doubtful whether opposition against industrialization will assume there the form of fascism since these countries lack the specific traditions of the ancient and medieval civilizations that conditioned the antimodernist revolt in Europe. The second reason working against fascist regimes is, thus, that fascism is inseparable from its Central and South European conditions; it is, in fact, one of the products of the dialectical movement of European civilization.

Some remarks on specific characteristics of Nazism and its German origins may be added as a conclusion to this discussion of fascism. The specialty of the German case may be seen, in light of this analysis, in that Germany was the only highly industrialized society in which a fascist regime emerged. Some authors have tried to explain this by pointing to the dominant role the state played in German industrialization. Yet Gerschenkron has convincingly shown that a relatively strong role of the state is a general characteristic of industrialization under conditions of "relative backwardness." We must look, therefore, for other causes, and it seems that they can be found in social rather than in political conditions of industrialization. A comparison with developments in France and Russia shows that the state in these countries changed its social basis by revolutionary means either prior to or during the process of industrialization; in Germany, however, preindustrial social traditions proved so strong and so flexible that they maintained influence on, if not control over, the state up to and beyond the stage of what Rostow calls industrial maturity.[39] The ambivalent social structure that resulted from this twisted process was so fragile that it broke apart under the

[38] It would be different in case of large-scale war which might, of course, drastically change present social conditions.

[39] I have tried to analyze this particular aspect in "Das Problem des deutschen Nationalstaates," rev. ed. in *Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Cologne, 1966), 407–36.

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impact of the series of severe crises from World War I to the Great Depression.

One of the conditions that complicated German industrialization may be seen in the fact that Wilhelm von Humboldt's reform of the German educational system favored, at the very moment when Germany began to industrialize, an aesthetic-aristocratic idea of culture over an idea of civilization compatible with industrialism. The tensions resulting from this divergence are reflected in German nineteenth-century intellectual history and its complex relationship to the intellectual roots of Nazism. Fritz Stern and George L. Mosse, among others, have recently made important contributions to this subject.[40] Mosse has taken up the issue of the *Völkisch* ideology and has convincingly shown how deeply it had penetrated into German society already prior to 1914. In focusing on the *Völkisch* ideology alone, Mosse has, however, by-passed what appears to be the real problem. Parallel to the rise of the *Völkisch* ideology, Germany experienced one of the greatest intellectual flowerings in its history during the first three decades of this century. In many cases it reached the level of the classical period around 1800, and it certainly surpassed it in breadth.[41] The real question is, then, why this parallelism occurred and why the *Völkisch* ideology eventually triumphed. As far as intellectual history is concerned, there was, in fact, no gradual decline toward Nazism; there was a clear rupture in 1933.

Stern's study is less ambitious and more penetrating. Its results might lend some support to Nolte's thesis of metaphysical despair, but they are valuable especially because they draw attention to the crisis of self-confidence in the academic establishment. This seems to correspond to Allen's findings that indicate a deep and violent resentment on the "grass root" level of the Nazi party against the "educated" classes,[42] and both studies together may hint at some reasons for the triumph of the *Völkisch* ideology analyzed by Mosse. Synthesized in this way, the results of the three authors may draw attention to one of the unduly neglected class divisions in Germany: between the edu-

[40] Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1961); George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York, 1964).

[41] It is indeed surprising to what extent a split in our knowledge of this period has developed. The general facts are known: in the sciences—Max Weber, Max Scheler, Karl Mannheim, Ernst Troeltsch, Friedrich Meinecke, Max Planck, Albert Einstein, and so forth; in literature—Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Bertold Brecht, the expressionists, the *Weltbühne*, and others, plus Austrians such as Franz Werfel, Robert Musil, Karl Kraus, R. M. Rilke, and Franz Kafka; in the dramatic arts—Max Reimann, Leopold Jessner, and similar names; in the visual arts—the *Bauhaus;* music, films, and dance must also be mentioned. Berlin was, in the 1920's and early 1930's, a major center of European intellectual life. And yet in our conception of this period of German intellectual history the notion prevails that there were few but nationalists and racists in Germany. A well-balanced intellectual history of the Weimar Republic is, thus, still painfully needed for the study of modern Germany.

[42] Allen, *Nazi Seizure of Power*, 279–80.

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cated and the uneducated. In the classical country of *Bildung* where the professor held and still holds one of the top positions in public prestige, such a division was highly important in itself. It became still more important, even in a political sense, when the aristocracy partially adopted during the nineteenth century the bourgeois ideal of *Bildung*. Most telling in this respect is the rise of the idea of the army as a "school of the nation," indicating that even the Prussian army felt advised after 1848 to engage in a competition for education with the bourgeoisie.[43] The civil bureaucracy had already adopted the educational ideal earlier; now, the military and part of the aristocracy followed in an attempt to maintain their position and to provide for the co-optation of "suitable" bourgeois elements.

In view of these facts, the hypothesis seems to arise that the division between the educated and uneducated may have developed in the nineteenth century into the true dividing line between the ruling oligarchy and its subjects. If this is true, subjects seeking emancipation had two ways to respond: either forming a subculture or resorting to barbarism. The first was the solution of the socialist labor movement; the second was the way of the Nazis, and it was the true revolutionary way. Evidence suggests that Hitler's prestige with the masses did not rest exclusively on economic and foreign policy successes; it also appears to have been supported by the fact that Hitler succeeded again and again in defeating and humiliating the members of the old oligarchy. Hitler's frequent invectives against this class in his speeches are usually explained as motivated merely by his own personal resentments. The motive may well have been more sophisticated, however. Such considerations must lead to the perplexing question of whether the Nazi movement did involve some elements of a completion, terribly distorted indeed, of Germany's age-old unfinished revolution. This would open some new perspectives on the resistance movement, and it would perhaps explain the intriguing fact that the Nazi regime, in contrast to the Hohenzollern monarchy in 1918 and to the Fascist regime in Italy in 1943–1944, was not overthrown by a mass upheaval from within. The question cannot be answered here, but it is crucial. The answer will determine not only our understanding of the nature of Nazism in terms of the problem of fascism, but also our interpretation of Nazism as an element in German history.

[43] Reinhard Höhn, *Die Armee als Erziehungsschule der Nation: Das Ende einer Idee* (Bad Harzburg, 1963). Another aspect of these attempts at adjustment is treated by Hans Rosenberg, "Die Pseudo-Demokratisierung der Rittergutsbesitzerklasse," in *Zur Geschichte und Problematik der Demokratie: Festgabe für Hans Herzfeld*, ed. Wilhelm Berges and Carl Hinrichs (Berlin, 1958), 459–86, reprinted in *Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wehler, 287–308.

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The Value of the Themistocles Decree

CHARLES W. FORNARA*

ALTHOUGH most students of the question seem to have concluded that the Themistocles Decree is a forgery,[1] this consensus does not imply that the question of authenticity has been decisively answered. The difficulties involved in proving an ancient document spurious are easily imagined, and so it should not be surprising that no item in the decree, except the prescript, is demonstrably anachronistic or false. The arguments against authenticity have, necessarily, been as inferential and perhaps only as plausible as the counterarguments excogitated to meet them.[2] What has determined the prevailing negative attitude, therefore, is neither the intrinsics of the decree taken by themselves, though some seem suspicious, nor even its putatively fourth-century language.[3] All this can be got around.[4] The basic objection is that an important provision of the new version is contradicted by Herodotus, our major authority for the Persian Wars.[5] For Herodotus explains the evacuation of Athens and the naval battle at Salamis as the unplanned consequence of the perfidy of the Spartans and their allies sometime after the Battle of Artemisium.[6] The Spartans, according to him, had engaged themselves to meet Xerxes somewhere in Boeotia, but turned instead to fortifying the Isthmus of Corinth and thereby necessitated the evacuation of Attica. The Themistocles Decree, on the other hand, provides for the evacuation of Athens and, probably, for a naval battle at Salamis before the issue of the

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[1] This was clear almost simultaneously with its discovery (cf. Sterling Dow, "Bibliography of the Purported Themistokles Inscription from Troizen," *Classical World,* LV [Jan. 1962], 105 B).

[2] Cf. Christian Habicht, "Falsche Urkunden zur Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter der Perserkriege," *Hermes,* LXXXIX (Jan. 1961), 1–35, and Helmut Berve, "Zur Themistokles-Inschrift von Troizen," *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* (No. 3, 1961).

[3] See, above all, Mortimer Chambers, "The Authenticity of the Themistocles Decree," *American Historical Review,* LXVII (Jan. 1962), 306–16.

[4] See B. D. Meritt, "Greek Historical Studies," in *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1962), 21–34.

[5] So, e.g., Luigi Moretti, "Nota al Decreto di Temistocle trovato a Trezene," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica,* New Ser., XXXVIII (1960), 390–402; C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford, Eng., 1963), 464; W. K. Pritchett, "Herodotos and the Themistokles Decree," *American Journal of Archeology,* LXVI (Jan. 1962), 43–44; Chambers, "Authenticity of the Themistocles Decree," 309–10.

[6] Herodotus 8.40.2.

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Battles of Artemisium and Thermopylae could have been known.[7] These particulars are indeed mutually exclusive. But does it follow naturally and inevitably that the inscription therefore offers incorrect information?

The problem, I submit, is more complicated than would at first appear, and it involves a larger question even than the authenticity of the decree. It concerns our treatment of the ancient evidence and the degree to which we are willing to re-examine old assumptions in the light of freshly acquired information. For in rejecting the Themistocles Decree we seem to forget that we are asserting the superiority not of Herodotus' history but of our past interpretation of his history and that this interpretation has involved the rejection of some of his material because it has seemed improbable to us. Since, however, the decree has been rejected for containing these very same improbabilities, it is obvious that in quoting Herodotus against the decree as we have done, we argue in a circular manner. It is, in short, only a half-truth to say that Herodotus contradicts the Themistocles Decree; he also supports it. For there are passages in Herodotus, as will appear, that unambiguously imply an early decision to fight at Salamis and to evacuate the city. These passages have long been harshly treated. They have been interpreted out of all recognition, they have been rejected, or they have merely been ignored. The reason, of course, is that they strike us as improbable. We have decided what the proper sequence of events *must* have been. It is possible that we are right. I suggest, however, that it is now a question whether our correction of the ancient tradition may not have been pushed to an arbitrary extreme. There may be more reason to reject Herodotus' account of Spartan treachery as inconsistent with his own narrative than there is to use this possible inconsistency to reject the authenticity of the Themistocles Decree.

Before I begin, however, it would be well for me to state the premises crucial to my argument. They are, indeed, generally accepted.[8] They deserve repetition, nevertheless, for their relevance to the present question has perhaps been inadequately appreciated. I assume, what few would deny, that Herodotus' sources, primarily oral, were diverse. There was not, that is to say, an Ur-Herodot, some coherent account of the Persian Wars which he simply repeated. It was Herodotus' contribution to seek out informants and to dovetail their remembrances in such a way as to create a connected and logically consequent narrative. Thus the coherence of the narrative, the interdependence of fact on fact, was largely his own creation. The facts themselves, on the other hand, derive from individuals who passed on to him their

[7] Lines 6–9 with 40–44.

[8] See Felix Jacoby, "Herodotos," in August von Pauly and Georg Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, Suppl. 2 (Stuttgart, 1913), cols. 392 ff.

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recollections of specific events or episodes. As to the accuracy of their recollection, we hardly needed Thucydides' celebrated criticism[9] of the uncertain memory of even contemporaries to be aware that Herodotus' informants guaranteed the existence of a tradition but not necessarily the truth of it. The corollary is important: inconsistencies in Herodotus' narrative attest his reliance upon divergent memories. We cannot, therefore, speak of "the tradition" as if it were ultimately uniform; nor ought we to proceed on the assumption that all of Herodotus' informants, *if only we properly interpret them,* had the same story to tell. It is methodologically improper to smooth away internal contradictions, for in doing so we obscure the vestiges of contemporary traditions in the presumption that one of them must be correct and that the others must be harmonious with it. Now if this is true, it bears significantly upon the question of the Themistocles Decree. Certain details in Herodotus presuppose a tradition very like that recorded in the recently discovered inscription.[10]

Herodotus tells the story (7.140–44) of the two oracles delivered at Delphi to the Athenians. The first advised the Athenians to flee to the ends of the earth; the second warned them against attempting any land battle with the barbarians, stating that though Attica would be ravaged wooden walls would save the citizenry and then added, disjunctively, that Salamis would be a scene of destruction. These oracles Herodotus dates unambiguously to the time before the Battles of Artemisium and Thermopylae.[11] The second oracle therefore implies—unless we attribute the power of true prophecy to Apollo's oracle—that Salamis was being at least considered as the location for a naval battle even before the failure at Artemisium. R. W. Macan, the shrewdest of Herodotus' commentators, observed that Herodotus' date is "out of the question, from a historical and psychological point of view." According to him, "the second oracle was obviously obtained with especial reference to the impending battle of Salamis." And this, he believed, presupposed that the Battle of Artemisium already had been fought. Macan's conclusions have generally been followed, and reasonably so. Herodotus' dating of an oracle, which implies that Salamis had been determined upon before the Battle of Artemisium was fought, is, as we know, contradicted by his later assertion that the selection of Salamis was the extemporaneous consequence of the failure of the Peloponnesian army to appear in Boeotia.

[9] Thucydides 1.22.3.

[10] I should like to emphasize the word "tradition." Proponents of the authenticity of the decree, when they deal with the evidence in Herodotus that supports their position, are apt to assume that these passages prove the authenticity of the inscription. Actually, as I argue, they can provide confirmation only of the existence in the fifth century of an oral tradition transmitted to Herodotus that is similar to that embodied in the new document.

[11] This should not be disputed. (See Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* 441.)

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There seemed little choice but to reject Herodotus' dating of the oracles and to set it down to some inexplicable confusion on his part. Surely the matter stands differently now. I do not see how we can avoid the conclusion that here he followed the tradition also preserved in the Themistocles Decree or, rather, that he related an episode embedded in that tradition. Of course, we may still choose to reject the date Herodotus assigns to the oracle. If we do so, however, we are in danger of proceeding in an arbitrary manner. We begin by rejecting the decree because Herodotus contradicts it, and we end by rejecting a relevant passage of Herodotus because it contradicts us.

Not merely the dating assigned by Herodotus to the oracles sustains the inference that the Themistocles Decree preserves genuine fifth-century tradition. Consider the implications of Herodotus' discussion of that famous second oracle, that of the "wooden walls." The oracle is a double alternative. The first part states that all Athens will be destroyed except for the wooden walls and that the Athenians must run away. The second part begins with the line: "But you divine Salamis will destroy the sons of women." From the form of the oracle, therefore, we may infer that Delphi responded to a double question. And from the answer delivered we can reasonably infer what the questions were and, not improbably, what answers the questioners hoped for.

The first part of the oracle implies something like the following question: "Will Athens be destroyed and, if so, ought we not to emigrate in our ships to some remote corner of Hellas?" The second question put to the oracle seems to have been: "Would it not be better to stake everything upon a naval battle at Salamis?" Delphi, it appears, was asked to pronounce upon the crucial issue dividing the Athenians and seems to have done the best it could. It gave an answer acceptable to the advocates of emigration (the wooden walls are unquestionably ships), and, although negative about the prospects at Salamis, nevertheless Delphi was ambiguous enough to ensure that if a naval battle were attempted the oracle would be correct whatever the issue.

This reconstruction may appear hazardous. It is, however, fully supported by Herodotus, who informs us in considerable detail of the state of mind at Athens upon the receipt of the oracle. Athens, he says, was divided. One group wished to emigrate; another wished to fight. *Chresmologoi,* the expounders of oracles, men who would have known, if any could have, what Delphi intended by its oracle, understood the oracle to support the first alternative.[12] In Herodotus' words, these experts "were against preparing for

[12] Herodotus 7.143.3. It should be unnecessary to enter here into a discussion characterized by the wildest flights of fancy. That part of the oracle which invokes Salamis is (at least) ambiguous. It cannot therefore be a mandate to Themistocles to fight at Salamis. What the

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a naval battle and the whole burden of what they said was that they should not even raise their hands in defense but should instead leave the land of Attica and settle in a new one." According to Herodotus, however, Themistocles gave his interpretation of the oracle, and the matter came to a vote. Themistocles won, and a decree was passed—dated by Herodotus to a time before the Battle of Artemisium—stipulating that the Athenians would engage the barbarian by sea with all their forces. The implication, obviously, is that the Athenians, in making this decision, renounced any hope of stopping the intruders by land. If so, they renounced Attica, precisely what we should have expected in view of what the oracle had predicted. They therefore had no choice but to evacuate or to plan for evacuation while they awaited the issue of naval combat. Is this not the Themistocles Decree? Herodotus, to be sure, does not mention Salamis when he alludes to the decree, and some scholars have maintained that he must have named it if Salamis were in fact then under consideration. Is it not enough that Herodotus claims that the decree was passed as a consequence of the oracle and that the oracle mentions Salamis? It is plain enough, surely, that the Themistocles Decree has impeccable claims to being based on what is at least an authentic tradition. Whoever told Herodotus of the oracles and dated them as Herodotus indicated, and whoever added the account of political conflict at Athens, evidently reported a version of the bygone events that tallies remarkably with that third-century document (and incidentally permits a reasonable explanation of why the matter came to a vote in the first place). This tradition, then, is demonstrably not the idle speculation or tendentious combination of some forger of the *fourth* century. That Herodotus later gives another explanation for the evacuation of Athens merely proves that Herodotus speaks with many voices.

It will be alleged, perhaps, that Herodotus misdated the oracle and its consequences and that too much is being made of an error. Or, again, the discrepancy can be explained away. Thus one doubter of authenticity[13] ad-

Delphic priests intended by their oracle cannot perhaps be known, though if the Athenian *chresmologoi* (on which, see J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* [Baltimore, 1950], 1 ff.) understood it as Herodotus reports, we must assume, as they were well versed in their profession, that their interpretation was right: that these men of the early fifth century, the sophisticated expounders of oracles, could accurately estimate the intended effect of an oracle propounded by Delphi. (I am assuming, of course, that the oracle was rational and intended some directive, and also that it is genuine. Our one criterion for determining what oracles are genuine and what oracles are fabrications after the event is their ambiguity or lack of it. This oracle, therefore, because it is ambiguous, must be presumed genuine, and so it has been judged by, among others, H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* [Oxford, Eng., 1961] 170. I do not understand the logic of those scholars who allege that the oracle is a prediction after the event. The words of the oracle do not predict the victory at Salamis; nor were they so interpreted, except by Themistocles, who wished to fight there. They are at best only reconcilable with it.)

[13] Pierre Amandry, "Thémistocle: Un décret et un portrait," *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* (May–June 1961), 424–25.

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mits, indeed, that Delphi was consulted. He denies, however, that the responses were those recorded by Herodotus. He proceeds to tell us what the oracles really said and how they really should be dated. Does he have private information? Only those passages of Herodotus which support his opinions, apparently, are truly authoritative. Surely this is an arbitrary way to treat the evidence and involves, as I have tried to show, a basic misunderstanding of the nature of oral tradition and the methods of Herodotus. If Herodotus' authority means anything, we are at least obligated to assume that he reported accurately what was told him. Ultimately, to be sure, we must reject or accept Herodotean traditions as true or untrue—or as likely or unlikely. Before we come to that, however, we must try to isolate as objectively as possible what the traditions may have been. General considerations aside, however, the likelihood that Herodotus has committed an error is reduced considerably by the discovery of the Themistocles Decree. The coincidence, if accidental, is astonishing. One other item in Herodotus' history, in any case, will show conclusively, I think, that he actually is repeating a tradition (whether it be true or not) and not merely muddling his own history.

Herodotus relates (8.44.1) that the Plataeans proceeded *immediately upon their withdrawal* from Artemisium to evacuate their households. Herodotus is quite specific: "as the Greeks departed from Artemisium, the Plataeans, when they reached Chalcis, disembarked at the part of Boeotia over against Chalcis and turned to the removal of their households." There is no choice but to assume, therefore, as Macan long ago conceded, that the Plataeans (and the Athenians) had reached the decision to evacuate while at Artemisium. How can this be reconciled with the belief that the Athenians (and presumably the Plataeans) were forced to evacuate because of the subsequent lapse of the Peloponnesians? There seems to be only one way: to assume that it was the failure at Artemisium that crystallized the decision to evacuate, and it should be noted that many of the scholars who have quoted Herodotus against the Themistocles Decree have assumed precisely this. To use a phrase well worn in this controversy, their assumption is irreconcilable with Herodotus. It not only is not supported by Herodotus; it contradicts him. It stultifies the motivation Herodotus specifically supplies: the Spartans' failure to appear in Boeotia. It is ironic, perhaps, that the Themistocles Decree has been rejected because it is inconsistent with the Herodotean motivation of the evacuation of Athens and the Battle of Salamis and yet that this too is in effect rejected because it fails to operate satisfactorily in our own reconstruction of the events. We have taken insufficient care, apparently, in separating Herodotus from our inferences from Herodotus.

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We ought to use only the former as the yardstick to measure off the possible validity of the new evidence.

The burden is clear. Herodotus has merged at least two variant traditions into his general account or, perhaps more accurately, has inserted the tradition of Spartan betrayal into a narrative with which it is at odds. Probably Herodotus did not notice the contradictory implications of what he related. However that may be, the fact that some of the details he records presuppose the early decision to evacuate Athens and to engage the Persians at Salamis permits the conclusion that the tradition embodied in the Themistocles Decree is at least as old as that other tradition so censoriously quoted against it. If both traditions, consequently, may reasonably be traced to Herodotus and so to the fifth century, it follows that neither one is automatically preferable to the other. The major objection to the new version—that it was propounded in the fourth century—is removed,[14] and we must, therefore, choose between the two versions on other grounds. Which of the two, then, is more likely to be true?

Decision is by no means easy, and certainty is impossible. It is quite true that the resolve to evacuate, if made at some time after Artemisium, seems intrinsically more probable than the alternative. It is easy to imagine the Athenians suddenly turning to Delphi in desperation and being undecided after a naval defeat and the betrayal by the Spartans. Yet the alternative is not inconceivable and is supported—positively by Herodotus' dating of the oracles, negatively by the difficulty of reconciling some other dating with Herodotus' narrative. For the one obvious place, where most scholars, in fact, would like to date them, is excluded by Herodotus' very words, which again we would be forced to correct. Herodotus (8.40) says:

> The Greek expedition put its ships into Salamis at the request of the Athenians. The Athenians requested that they anchor at Salamis for the following reasons, namely, that they might remove their women and children from Attica and, *in addition,* that they might consider what was to be done by them.

Herodotus then alludes to the Spartan betrayal and the evacuation. Now if we assume that it was at this time that the Athenians consulted Delphi and decided, after contention, to stay and fight, we must recognize that Herodotus has reported the events in the wrong order. The request for assistance in the evacuation of Athenian women and children to Aegina, Salamis, and Troizen, which he places first, necessarily presupposes a prior decision

[14] See, e.g., Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* 464–65: "there can be no compromise on this point between the Herodotean and the later (presumably Ephorean) account; one or other of them must be wrong, and Herodotus' informants, aristocrats [!] and contemporaries [!], were surely in a better position to know the facts."

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to leave Athens but to remain in Greece to continue the struggle.[15] On the other hand, Herodotus clearly believed that the evacuation of Athens and the Battle of Salamis were unpremeditated. One should not, however, overestimate the importance of this, for it only proves that the motif of Spartan betrayal was a solid part of the tradition of the Persian Wars in Athens of the 440's. It does not prove, though this has been alleged, that a tradition substantially the same, if not exactly the same, as the Themistocles Decree was not known to Herodotus or to his informants. That would be an oversimplification. Nothing stands in the way of assuming, and the assumption is supported by contradictions already mentioned, that the decree of Themistocles and the tradition of Spartan betrayal were not felt to be mutually exclusive. Modern historians may see the contradiction, but we know too much about the methods of Herodotus and about the ease with which erroneous notions arise to argue, or assume, that the prevalence of one tradition necessarily implies that the other was nonexistent. The proper question to ask is, therefore: would *fifth*-century Athenian oral tradition have been more likely to invent a tradition of Spartan betrayal or a Themistocles Decree? I think the answer is clear enough. The invention of a Themistocles Decree would have served little purpose. It might have enhanced Themistocles' reputation for sagacity, but he probably was already in Persia and beyond the need of it. Again, invention of the decree might have given the Athenians cause for self-congratulation on the grounds that the desertion of their city proceeded from themselves alone. It is possible, but it does not seem very likely. I cannot imagine the Athenians of the middle of the fifth century so desirous of yet another garland that they would be willing to sacrifice for it the gratifying story of a Sparta that failed to keep its promises. For the motif of Spartan treachery is tendentious. It had the undoubted virtue of heaping discredit upon Sparta at a time when the two states had become enemies. And how easy it would have been to impute blame to the Spartans for something that did *not* happen. How hard it would be to confute the allegation. Can we not imagine the Athenians—an orator, for example (surely they were not perjurious only in the fourth century)—asking why the Battle of Plataea had not been fought a year earlier so that Athens might then have been spared? The Peloponnesians tried to block the way to their cities at the very time the Athenians were forced to leave their own, and yet, a year later, a decisive battle by land in

[15] The Athenians would hardly have moved their women and children into the very path of the Persians unless they intended to fight in that quarter. If Herodotus is right, therefore, the plan to fight at Salamis and to evacuate was formulated prior to the deliberations that Herodotus vaguely hints at and scholars have identified as those leading to these very decisions.

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Boeotia ended the threat of the Persians. Whatever the commitment undertaken by the Spartans, the bare sequence of events would have sufficed to engender in the Athenians, now wise in retrospect, the suspicion that the sacrifice of their city had been needless. It could have been avoided if the Greek land army, that is, the Peloponnesians, had confronted the enemy resolutely in the same place just one year earlier. By easy progression, in the light of suspicion and hostility, the responsibility for the delay could eventually have been ascribed to Spartan indifference and even malevolence. And would not the charge of Spartan treachery have been readily believed two or three decades after the event? Would someone have pointed to the Themistocles Decree and argued that the two versions were logically irreconcilable? I regard the idea of a Spartan army—a *Spartan* army—reneging on its commitment to allies without whom it could hope for nothing but defeat as unlikely as the corollary that the Athenians, so treated, would have come hat in hand to these friends for help in evacuating the city.[16] Others will perhaps judge differently.[17] In any case, it is easier to explain the genesis of the tradition of Spartan treachery in a century when Athens and Sparta were at war with each other than it is to condemn the historical implications of the Themistocles Decree as a *fifth*-century fabrication. Whether, therefore, the decree is a (copy of a) fourth-century reconstruction or an authentic copy of a fifth-century decree is a comparatively trivial question. What is valuable is that the historical tradition it preserves is consistent with the main burden of Herodotus' narrative and therefore may very possibly be true. If we choose to reject this version, therefore, we must do so purely on grounds of probability and not by treating the ancient evidence as Procrustes did his victims.

[16] It is not as if the Athenians had no choice: they could still remove themselves to Italy.

[17] Arguments from silence have their limitations, no doubt, but it is surely strange that Thucydides, when he chronicles the genesis of Athenian and Spartan enmity (1.89 ff.), makes no allusion to an action that could not but have contributed to it. Again, so damning a testimony to Spartan irresolution would have been a splendid *topos* for Thucydidean speeches condemning it.

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Reviews of Books

General

ISTORIIA I ISTORIKI: ISTORIOGRAFIIA VSEOBSHCHEI ISTORII [History and Historians: Historiography of General History]. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 399.)

OCHERKI ISTORII ISTORICHESKOI NAUKI V SSSR [Outlines of the History of Historical Science in the USSR]. Volume IV. Edited by *M. V. Nechkina et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 853.)

Both these works attest the widespread interest in historiography characteristic of current Soviet scholarship. *History and Historians* is the second collection of essays with this title published since 1965. Unlike the earlier work, this one goes beyond domestic history to include a variety of essays that range from a study of Marx's conception of the Irish revolutionary movement to a discussion of the role of John Commons in American labor history. All the articles bespeak Soviet historians' wide acquaintance with Western scholarship. Without exception each essay also demonstrates an awareness of the ideological imperatives of Soviet scholarship. Thus we are told that Marx's views on Irish history have much to teach the struggling "colonial peoples" of our epoch and that "scholarly objectivity" must be combined with *partiinost.* Ya. I. Drazninas defends the Marxist conception of the Paris Commune and attacks R. R. Palmer's attempt to distinguish between the democratic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and those of our own day. A. L. Goldberg introduces an article on seventeenth-century conceptions of the term "Europe" with the assertion that Western scholarship in this area is a function of cold war hostility to Russia. His article is, nevertheless, solidly based and well reasoned, demonstrating that an earlier age did identify Russia with a common European community. These essays, in short, serve as an introduction to Soviet thought on a variety of subjects, yet they lack the merit of stylistic flair or unusual insight.

Wider in scope but characterized by the same polemical zeal is the useful fourth volume of the *Outlines of the History of Historical Science in the USSR.* The work covers the period from the October Revolution to the mid-thirties, and its main thesis is that the development of Soviet scholarship parallels in periodization the general development of Soviet society. Read carefully, it is a fascinating description of the way the revolution was fought out in the field of scholarship. The Stalin era is seen, somewhat paradoxically, as a time of "heavy damage" to scholarship and fruitful growth in both the conceptions and techniques of writing and teaching history. Scholars are repeatedly praised for linking their work to the demands of political struggle. An entire chapter is devoted to the partial rehabilitation of M. M. Pokrovskii. There are a useful chapter by A. A. Zimin and A. A.

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Preobrazhenskii on the historiography of feudalism and a good analysis by M. V. Nechkina of the evolution of Soviet views on the Decembrists.

This work tends, unfortunately, to enumerate and categorize philosophic positions rather than to engage in detailed analysis of specific historians. The study of N. L. Rubinstein, although a generation old, remains a better introduction to the thought of both Pokrovskii and N. A. Rozhkov than is the current work. Such a failing is, however, common to all general outlines of this type, and the book belongs in the library of anyone interested in either Soviet thought or Russian historiography.

University of Massachusetts T. P. Dilkes

STUDIES IN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Arnaldo Momigliano.* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1966. Pp. 263. 45*s.*)

It is a matter for rejoicing that at last Arnaldo Momigliano's principal articles on historiography have appeared in English, and, simultaneously, in paperback. His move from Italy to the professorship of ancient history at University College, London, fourteen years ago assured him an influential place among English-speaking historians, though not many outside the circle of ancient historians have yet become aware of his authority. This volume of essays, representing publications from 1950 to 1964, will be helpful to graduate classes and to all historians concerned with current evaluations of our discipline. Though the scholarship is for the most part uncompromisingly dense, notably in articles on historical work during the days of Constantine and Cassiodorus, the judgments that emerge throughout are lucid and of broad application.

Momigliano's learning is most impressive in leading to distinctions between the facile performances and the solid and penetrating achievements of past historians. Such distinctions are too rarely made in historiographical surveys. In one stimulating essay Momigliano contrasts Thucydides' shallowness on the causes of war with his admirable handling of constitutional matters, and he pursues this contrast down to historians of our own age. Several times he points out how rewarding it can be to bring together a tradition of systematic studies with one of narrative history—the two different mentalities of "the annalist historian and the historian of institutions"—and he argues that the profound respect of Renaissance scholars for historians like Thucydides and Tacitus kept the new systematic studies of the ancient world "antiquarian" and separate from attempts at narrative history until Gibbon brilliantly united the two.

Momigliano is a wise spokesman for Greek and Roman historical work, and it is good to have his essays on Creuzer and Grote and Rostovtzeff accompanied by his sober explanations of the weaknesses of this field as of 1952. Fields more troubled by presentist passions may find interesting his arguments for firmer adherence to evidence, to common sense, and to generally approved methods of handling sources. His short essay entitled "One Hundred Years after Ranke" (1954) is especially welcome now that *History and Theory* (VI [no. 1, 1967], 57) contains a translation of the essay by Humboldt that Momigliano emphasized. As Croce noted, Ranke was referring to this same essay in his often quoted *wie es eigentlich gewesen.* But the pessimism of these appraisals in 1952 and 1954 is

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countered by a detailed survey of current historical work as of 1961. Here, especially in the generous words about historical work in the United States, it is plain that this master of established learning sees hope for excellence in historical scholarship wherever honest concerns arising from the national or social milieu can join with true concerns of craftsmanship and method.

Washington, D. C. PAUL L. WARD

THE SEARCH FOR A USABLE PAST AND OTHER ESSAYS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Henry Steele Commager*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xii, 363. $6.95.)

GOOD teaching results when a learned man thinks logically, rationally, and profoundly in front of a class. By that test Henry Steele Commager has been one of America's outstanding teachers during the past and present generations.

This volume of twenty-two essays is ample proof of his quality. The essays are notable for extensive knowledge, clear thought, and literary effectiveness that sometimes rises to high art. Commager, as everyone knows, is not an intellectual or moral eunuch. His positive and liberal views are successfully combined with high scholarly standards in this work. That he can let emotion and conclusions affect scholarship is shown in another volume of essays published in 1966 under the title *Freedom and Order*.

With one exception these essays had already appeared in print. Seven were introductions to books written by him or other authors; four reached readers through the pages of *American Heritage;* the balance were scattered in the New York *Times Magazine,* the *New England Quarterly,* the *Saturday Review,* the *American Scholar,* and several other journals. The subjects are as varied as the channels of publication. There are essays on constitutional history, on intellectual history, on various reformers and reform movements, on historiography, on Civil War cartography, and on Scandinavian historians. No matter what the subject may be, the reader will conclude that Commager has an amazingly wide knowledge and has thought well and deeply. Each one will select as especially deserving of praise the essays of most interest to him. My favorites are "The Blasphemy of Abner Kneeland," which brought me as much scholarly and artistic satisfaction as it did when I first read it thirty years ago, and "Should the Historian Sit in Judgment," which contains ripe wisdom on that challenging question.

University of Washington W. STULL HOLT

THE CHINESE CHAMELEON: AN ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN CONCEPTIONS OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By *Raymond Dawson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 235. $8.00.)

The Chinese Chameleon is a well-written, handsomely printed, and beautifully illustrated book, principally devoted to the history of European attitudes toward Chinese civilization from the thirteenth century to the present. Its author, an eminent British Sinologue, illustrates this main theme with quotations from famous travelers and missionaries, European philosophers and statesmen, and even popu-

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lar authors, adding an appendix with longer extracts from the works of fifteen of the more significant writers, from Marco Polo to John K. Fairbank.

The main text is presented in a smoothly written style, without footnote numbers, in an effort to appeal to popular readers, but notes for the specialist are provided at the end of the book, giving citations and supplementary material including further bibliography, with references back to the relevant pages. While it was intended for the general reader in Britain, and as such contains numerous specific references to British attitudes and actions in relation to China, it should prove equally interesting to an American reader. A thought-packed book, valuable for anyone interested in the history of European thought or international relations, it has exceptional value for the Sinologue. Students of China in any of its aspects, at almost any period, will find much indispensable information and many new insights on such topics as art, literature, philosophy, economics, and cultural and political history, as well as useful professional advice on such specific matters as problems of historiography, language analysis, and effective translation.

The author's stated aim was to expose and eliminate some Western misconceptions regarding China, at the same time emphasizing the difficulty of attaining a genuine understanding of Chinese civilization or, indeed, any foreign civilization, and to illustrate how European understanding of China has been hampered by subjective factors. Taking various categories, he shows that in each case the European impressions of China seldom corresponded to the facts, but rather reflected Europe's own needs, and he effectively demonstrates that changes in European reports of and attitudes toward China have not so much reflected actual changes in Chinese society as changes in European intellectual history. He illustrates, for example, the vast differences between the ideas and attitudes of the Roman Catholic missionaries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and those of the nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries that resulted from their disparate doctrines and world views, with the corresponding differences in their reports about China, and the divergent reactions to these differences on the part of their contemporaries in Europe. He concludes with some shrewd comments on the present conceptions of the Western world regarding China, and shows in what respects these, too, are distortions in response to current psychological needs.

As the author predicted in his first chapter, by the time the reader has finished this book he fully realizes that the chameleon would be a more appropriate symbol for China than the dragon. Anyone who reads this book with open-minded attention could no longer cling to the old clichés regarding an unchanging China, and he is likely to emerge with a clearer view of modern China as an outgrowth from a constantly evolving past, rather than a totally new phenomenon.

University of Pennsylvania SCHUYLER V. R. CAMMANN

THE PACIFIC BASIN: A HISTORY OF ITS GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATION. Edited by *Herman R. Friis.* [American Geographical Society, Special Publication Number 38. Published under the support of the National Science Foundation.] (New York: the Society. 1967. Pp. xi, 457. $12.00.)

THIS good and useful book, like all works that are a compilation of the writings of many authors, has its weaknesses. With the exception of Chapter III, Skelton's

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"Map Compilation, Production, and Research in Relation to Geographical Exploration," and Washburn's concluding Chapter xv, on "The Intellectual Assumptions and Consequences of Geographical Exploration in the Pacific," the book is written by geographers and exhibits their approach. This is good, for Pacific exploration has recently been covered mostly by historians and anthropologists.

Preceding Skelton's chapter are an introduction on the Pacific Basin by William L. Thomas, Jr., and another on "The Art and Science of Navigation in Relation to Geographical Exploration Before 1900" by Norman J. W. Thrower. The remaining chapters between Skelton's and Washburn's are devoted to the geographical explorations concerning the Pacific by the Chinese, Japanese, Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, Russians, French, English, Americans, and in the twentieth century. The definition of the Pacific is broad, especially in the two chapters devoted to Oriental explorations.

The most thorough chapter is that devoted to the United States, and the weakest, that devoted to the French. The chapter on the Russians has political overtones, but is one of the most interesting for it provides details of Russian exploration not previously found in English. The approach in nearly all chapters is pedantic, and they are heavily overfootnoted. A notable exception is that by Skelton. A bibliography would have been useful; its omission is to be regretted. Works cited are in the footnotes, but seeking them out is tedious. The occasional proofreading lapses are trivial considering the size of the work.

The preceding comments are not to detract from the very great merits of this book. It will be one of the most useful reference works on the Pacific for many years, for no other book so fully covers the entire story of geographical exploration in the Pacific from Magellan to the present. Herman R. Friis has successfully completed a particularly difficult task in assembling contributions from a widely scattered group of authors and, in spite of a certain unevenness, uniting them into a coherent and valuable book.

Peabody Museum of Salem ERNEST S. DODGE

SINO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Vincent Chen*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1966. Pp. 147. 17.10 gls.)

DR. Chen did well in choosing the seventeenth century as the period of his particular interest in the story of Sino-Russian relations. His reasoning, as stated by him, is right: when the Russians crossed the Urals and conquered Siberia late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth centuries, this "was the first time that a European people had occupied the land of Northern Asia." He sees the push as a continuation of an earlier and more general surge: "the Slavs came into Russia from the west and . . . their history has been a continuous movement across the great plain from west to east." The seventeenth century, through the rise of the Romanovs, brought forth a new class of men of service, some self-elevated, others descended from a previous aristocracy, a mixed lot with "decidedly capitalistic leanings" who wanted a commercial expansion for their Russia.

But initially they were ignorant of Asia, and their first mission to China in 1618–1619 did not help either to enlighten them or to win China's favor. They reached the Amur in 1641. Three decades later, still little comprehending the

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power and pride of China, the chieftain of the new Russian town of Nerchinsk sent a Cossack to Peking with a demand that Emperor K'ang-hsi recognize Tsar Alexis as his suzerain. The arrogance of the Russians settling in lands not their own caused the famed Albazin War of 1685–1686. The subsequent Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) contained better boundaries and more privileges for the Russians than their essential defeat in that war had warranted. Their right to have a clergymen's mission in Peking also dates from that time.

Throughout most of the century the Russians pressed for contacts and trade that the Chinese did not want. To China's rulers all foreigners were of course barbarians who owed Peking homage and tribute, but otherwise they were a nuisance. The rulers felt that China was self-sufficient and needed no Russian goods. The Russians, however, thought they did need China. In 1638 they tasted their first Chinese tea and preferred it for centuries to come. In 1670 the Tsar's envoy, Spathary, requested of the Chinese Emperor "that some bridge builders be sent to Russia."

And yet the Russians would not recognize China's might, especially its geographic extent, which at the time embraced the Amur region, touched Lake Baikal, and was acknowledged by non-Russian and non-Chinese nomads to be as far west as Central Asia and the Altai area. This Russian nonrecognition made the seventeenth century an easy era for the Russians' first push toward the Pacific; their stubbornness, half-ignorant and half-sly by then, facilitated their eventual success in planting themselves so firmly at China's very door.

Chen uses many Chinese sources, and these are important. He is considerably weaker on the other side of the story, utilizing no original Russian documents and books but rather the works of such Western authors as John F. Baddeley, Frank A. Golder, and Albert Parry. It is lamentably clear that he does not know Russian; nor was he aided by anyone acquainted with the Russian language. The quantity and variety of his errors in citing Russian names and transliterating Russian words are appalling in an otherwise scholarly book. Such gross carelessness is truly inexcusable.

Colgate University ALBERT PARRY

MORAVIANS IN TWO WORLDS: A STUDY OF CHANGING COMMUNITIES. By *Gillian Lindt Gollin*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 302. $8.75.)

WORKING on an analysis of social change in the two most important Moravian communities of the Old World and the New—Herrnhut in Saxony and Bethlehem in Pennsylvania—a non-Moravian sociologist has fruitfully brought the outlook and techniques of her discipline to bear on the extensive historical materials preserved by the Moravian Church in its Bethlehem archives. From 1722, when fugitive Bohemians calling themselves the *Unitas Fratrum* found refuge on the Saxon estate of Count Nikolaus Zinzendorf, and from 1741, when Zinzendorf secured Pennsylvania land for a daughter community, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, the development of these two communities showed striking similarity and marked contrast.

Deep pietism and strong missionary zeal motivated both groups. Both or-

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ganized themselves as separatist communities apart from the world. Both set up a communal society, with power strongly concentrated in the leadership, reinforced by the use of the lot to determine Christ's will in community affairs. Both, in their religious enthusiasm and their struggle for economic survival, modified the traditional family unit by organizing groups or "choirs" of single men, single women, children, and even married people for purposes of worship, work, and living. In this they resembled the early Utah Mormons and some of the kibbutzim of Israel, sacrificing family interests to the need for group survival. Both of the early Moravian settlements conceived of marriage not as a romantic attachment but solely as a means of providing a necessary helpmeet for a missionary in the field or for a responsible official at home. Hence both resorted to the lot to select marriage partners. Both favored the crafts over other forms of economic activity. Final authority over both lay in the hands of the Unity Elders Conference, centered in Saxony.

In spite of their original similarity, the two Moravian communities gradually grew apart, until by the 1850's Bethlehem had become a small American city, interested in agriculture and trade, and soon to become a center of the new steel industry. Herrnhut, on the other hand, remained a closed Moravian community for another century.

Thus, the interaction of similar religious ideals and institutions with different economic, social, and political conditions produced radically different results. In Saxony a semifeudal society, a tight system of craft guilds in sharp competition with the Herrnhut craftsmen, and a mistrust of agriculture and industry on the part of its aristocratic-minded leaders stabilized the community in its unique religious framework. Bethlehem, founded on the open agricultural frontier, exposed to the winds of freedom of the American Revolution and the developing American industrialism, gradually became a secular city.

Haverford College THOMAS E. DRAKE

IMPACT OF WESTERN MAN: A STUDY OF EUROPE'S ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY 1750–1960. By *William Woodruff*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 375. $8.50.)

THIS very useful book begins inauspiciously with two introductory chapters on "The Impact of European Ideas in the World" and "The Course of Empire." The first is a hodgepodge of confused and confusing generalizations; the second, a summary of European empire building and a rehash of the various theories concerning the dynamics of imperialism. The author concludes: "The little that can be gleaned from history is that the imperialism of the European Age is not intrinsically different from that of ancient Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, or Rome. . . . Extermination, eviction, enslavement, economic exploitation, racial discrimination, injustice, violence, and iniquity all existed before."

This is indeed meager gleaning, and also quite misleading. The author stresses operational methods while ignoring the unique nature and historical consequences of European imperialism. India, for example, experienced dozens of conquests, but in almost all cases the net result was a new collector of taxes while life continued relatively unchanged at the village level. In contrast, Sir Henry Maine, after serving in India during the 1860's, concluded: "British power meta-

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morphoses and dissolves the ideas and social forms underneath it, nor is there any expedient by which it can escape the duty of rebuilding upon its own principles that which it unwillingly destroyed. . . . we do not innovate or destroy in mere arrogance. We rather change because we cannot help it. Whatever be the nature and value of that bundle of influences which we call Progress, nothing can be more certain than that, when a society is once touched by it, it spreads like a contagion" (H. S. Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West* [1880]).

This clarifies the fundamental difference between European and all preceding imperialisms. It is paradoxical that this difference is Woodruff's subject, as defined in his subtitle and spelled out with invaluable statistical data in the chapters that follow. These chapters deal, in order, with European emigration, European foreign investment, diffusion of European technology, conquest of distance, and changing patterns of world trade. Each of these subjects is not only treated in the text, but also supplemented by a total of fifty-four statistical tables that present a mass of valuable data. While some of this material is well known, much of it, including the cost of inland transport in selected countries between 1800 and 1960, eighty years' freight rates from 1869 to 1949, and emigration to Siberia during the years 1850–1930 (this last data being supplied by the USSR Academy of Sciences), is not familiar. These facts and figures demonstrate concretely the range and significance of Europe's global hegemony. Students of world history will find this a most useful reference work and can look forward to a forthcoming companion study of the "external impact" of the United States.

Northwestern University L. S. Stavrianos

THE COMINTERN: HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS. ESSAYS, RECOLLECTIONS, DOCUMENTS. Edited by *Milorad M. Drachkovitch* and *Branko Lazitch*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. 1966. Pp. xv, 430. $10.00.)

The varied character of this book's contents, as reflected in the title, make them easier to catalogue than to review. In Stefan T. Possony's essay, "The Comintern's Claim to Marxist Legitimacy," politics seems more important than history, or, perhaps better, historical interest is a function of the author's place on the political spectrum. Lenin, the Bolsheviks, and all their works (the Soviet regime is of course the current incarnation) are anathema. Marx himself, on the other hand, whose ideas Lenin and his adherents claimed to follow, has acquired historical respectability and legitimacy as a contributor to the main currents of Western thought. Possony denies the Comintern's claim to Marxist legitimacy by showing that Lenin's conception of the Communist International was different from Marx's conception of a workingman's international, no difficult task, and thus the greatest Marxist of them all proves to be no Marxist. To ascertain the validity of Lenin's claims to Marxian legitimacy may seem very important to today's Neo-Marxists; surely historians are more concerned with both phenomena—Lenin and the Communist International—each in its own right.

Another essay is Bertram D. Wolfe's "A Party of a New Type," emphasizing

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once again that the party as organized by Lenin was *sui generis,* and therefore the Comintern would be. The longest essay, Richard C. Thornton's "The Emergence of a New Comintern Policy for China: 1928," challenges the thesis that the Comintern's primary policy for China after 1928 was to capture an urban base for armed uprisings and argues rather the promulgation of "a sophisticated conception of protracted guerrilla warfare and political subversion." He denies that this means a prior endorsement of the strategy successfully developed by Mao Tse-tung, but does point to the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communists in 1928 as an important turning point in the history of Chinese Communist strategy. Other essays on Comintern relations with foreign Communist leaders, the German Communists, and the Communist party of Yugoslavia in 1941–1942 are by Branko Lazitch, Babette Gross, and Milorad M. Drachkovitch, respectively. Brief recollections by Henri Barbé, Célie and Albert Vassart, and Eugenio Reale, and certain documents pertinent to the early organization of the German and French Communist parties and their relations with the Comintern (1921–1923), conclude the book.

Oregon State University GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

SOVIET AND CHINESE COMMUNISM: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES. Edited by *Donald W. Treadgold.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. xix, 452. $10.00.)

IN June 1965, thirty-nine Russia and China specialists, representing several disciplines, gathered at Lake Tahoe to "attempt a systematic if summary examination of the recent past and present of communism (viewed as both ideology and as political, economic, and social system) in Russia and China on a comparative basis, in order to gain better understanding of the main structural and developmental features of the two regimes and their doctrines and systems." This volume contains the major papers of that conference, revised for publication. Fifteen essays are included, organized around the following problems: Communism's historical roots, or lack of them, in China and Russia; changes effected in each party by the transformation from revolutionary organization to ruling authority; law and extrajudicial means of social control under Communism in both countries; the degree of freedom for literature in both countries, with specific attention to the "Hundred Flowers" movement and the "Thaw"; strategy and tactics of economic development; international affairs; and a final essay about the roles of Russian and Chinese Communism in stimulating or restricting science and technology, on the one hand, and "the realization of human dignity," on the other.

The contributors to this volume are all distinguished, able scholars, and their papers generally reveal the high level of competence that one expects. At the same time, the reader will be disappointed at the level of comparison in the volume as a whole. The subjects examined are so broad, and involve so many variables, that rigorous comparison would be extremely difficult at best. But the chief problem here seems to be the dearth of double specialists; many of the contributors are professionally concerned with only one of the countries and understandably limit themselves to the area of their *expertise.* Although five of the contributors attempt to give full attention to both countries in a comparative fashion, ten papers focus

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primarily on only one of the countries, and six of these contain virtually no attempt at comparison. Of course, in those cases, the papers are grouped with one or more essays dealing with the same or similar problems in the other country. While juxtaposition is not comparison, it may, as these papers do, stimulate the reader to think along comparative lines.

Northwestern University JAMES E. SHERIDAN

REVOLUTIONEN UND FRIEDENSSCHLÜSSE, 1917–1920. By *Gerhard Schulz*. [dtv-Weltgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Number 2.] ([Munich:] Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag. 1967. Pp. 300.)

THIS excellent paperback survey is part of a projected fourteen-volume universal history of the twentieth century being done under the editorship of Martin Broszat and Helmut Heiber.

Professor Schulz of the University of Tübingen has succeeded remarkably well in dealing with the enormous wealth of historical data and literature for the period 1917–1920. He describes, in the first group of chapters, the crises and revolutions that shaped the final years of the global conflict. Quite appropriately, the narrative opens with a brief discussion of the mid-conflict abortive peace efforts, the war objectives of the Powers, the critical situation of the Central Powers in the fall of 1916, and the entry of the United States into the war. A brief but informative account of imperialist diplomacy, nationalist aspirations, and subversive liberation efforts, particularly in Turkish-controlled areas, complements the introductory chapters. A relatively more detailed treatment of the momentous events in 1917 and 1918 concludes the first part of the book. Schulz describes the convulsive developments in Russia and the decisive commitment of the United States in proper historical perspective, focusing on the role played by Lenin and Wilson, respectively. Yet he does not neglect to chronicle other significant developments, including the adoption by the *Reichstag* of the July Peace Resolution, the growing influence of Clemenceau, Pétain, Lloyd George, Hindenburg, and Ludendorff, the enunciation of the Fourteen Points, the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and, finally, the military disintegration of the Central Powers. While the reader may not always agree with specific aspects of Schulz's interpretation, he is not likely to find serious fault with this balanced account of the events leading to the Compiègne armistice.

The second part of the book is devoted to the immense issue of the peace negotiations. Writing with restraint and insight, Schulz deals with the general issues of peacemaking, the impact of individual statesmen upon the proceedings, the inter-Allied conflicts, the complex problems faced by the Central Powers, and the manifold repercussions of the war in Europe and elsewhere. Schulz stresses the virtual impossibility of writing "permanent" peace treaties in 1919–1920, and he regrets the fact that timely revisions did not make the Versailles system more viable. A short bibliography of basic historical literature enhances this welcome addition to paperback publications in the field of history.

University of Texas WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

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CENTRAL BANK COOPERATION: 1924–31. By *Stephen V. O. Clarke.* ([New York:] Federal Reserve Bank of New York. [1967.] Pp. 234. $2.00.)

In the present ascendancy of the new economics, there is merit to this monograph on "self-regulating" market capitalism. Among its pillars was the international gold standard coupled with convertible currencies, but the unsettled economic and political conditions following World War I provided a weak base. Could central bankers of the major monetary powers—America, Britain, France, and Germany —restore and nourish the financial structure of a world torn between economic nationalism and the need for cooperation?

This theme, creditably developed by Clarke, offers interesting comparisons to current monetary dilemmas. In 1927, for example, the Bank of France chose to convert its large sterling balances into gold, thus confronting London with the alternatives of painful deflation or abandonment of parity. American central bankers, sympathetic to the plight of their British counterparts, responded with an easing of discount rates. Yet domestic as well as external considerations figured in this decision, including a decline in industrial production early in 1927. Soon the threat of recession proved insignificant by comparison to hazardous stock market speculation, but the credit needs of business were considered uppermost.

The author deals skillfully with such complex issues as the use or neglect of monetary policy leading up to the crises of 1929 and 1931. He draws effectively from the records of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, focusing on the role of Benjamin Strong, its governor from 1914 to 1928, and his relationship with Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England. Their cooperation, marked by moderate success until 1928, failed to cope with basic flaws in the major national economies. Clarke maintains that each of the central bankers concentrated on his own country's interests, while the slogans of international capitalism became a prop for expediency. Inaction also was thus justified, as in the failure to coordinate monetary policy with price stabilization.

Political leaders, including Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were confronted with conflicting advice from the experts, as well as pressure from various governments reacting to the *mystique* of the gold standard. As the author demonstrates, central banking policies reflected the forces of politics, economic orientation, and personality in the last years of laissez faire.

Paterson State College Joseph Brandes

NAZI GERMANY AND THE AMERICAN HEMISPHERE, 1933–1941. By *Alton Frye.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 86.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 229. $6.75.)

"What were Nazi Germany's ultimate intentions regarding the New World? If the Third Reich had been victorious in Europe, would conquest of the Western Hemisphere have come next?" These are the central questions posed by the author of this valuable monograph, and he acknowledges at once that they cannot be answered definitively. "The present work," he states, "is concerned primarily with . . . Nazi attempts to undermine the integrity of American political systems. These efforts to manipulate the political processes of American states were themselves the most suggestive evidence of the Reich's true disposition toward this hemisphere.

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Whether they were the prelude to more direct intervention by the Third Reich at some later date is one of the imponderables of history, but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, had the Nazis achieved enduring victory in the Old World, the nations of the New would have faced an unending succession of political assaults."

This conclusion is indeed inescapable. It is more difficult to agree that Nazi efforts to manipulate political processes in the Americas are the most suggestive evidence of their intentions in this hemisphere. It was inevitable that they should seek to do so, just as other major powers did. That is part of the job of foreign agents. As the author makes clear, however, Nazi policies and programs varied widely. In this sphere, as in every other aspect of Nazi government, competition and infighting among their various agents and agencies prevented any unity of method or purpose.

The description of Nazi activities in this hemisphere is fascinating, but the most interesting fact to emerge from this study is how generally and completely they failed, especially in the United States and Canada. In Latin America neither Vargas nor any other leader believed he could afford to adopt such an actively anti-Axis policy as the United States was following by the time of Pearl Harbor. "But," Dr. Frye writes, "apart from Argentina, the American republics had by this time made substantial progress in controlling Nazi propaganda and subversion, and the German government had few avenues of influence open to it in the Western Hemisphere. The alarms of 1940 and 1941 had prompted most of the countries to snuff out or bring under close surveillance the agencies of Axis penetration."

The failure of the Nazis in the New World at the time of their greatest successes in Europe does not suggest that either their propaganda or their agents were in themselves serious threats to the security of this hemisphere. Such a threat could only have come from a victorious Hitler, and the chapters devoted to his views of the Americas are in my opinion the most valuable in the book. These views were distinguished primarily by his ignorance about America and his underestimation of the power of the United States. In this connection, however, the author might have devoted more attention to Hitler's policy in the early stages of the war to do everything possible to avoid conflict with this country. Nor has he dealt with the most important single question of Germany's relations with the American hemisphere: why Hitler declared war on the United States after Pearl Harbor. This is a pity, for an analysis of this decision, even if it did no more than synthesize the conclusions of other scholars, would have brought the entire book into better focus.

I do not agree with Frye's conclusion that the Western Hemisphere formed an important part of Hitler's global ambitions. He had no specific plans for America; his primary objective for his own lifetime and succeeding generations was the establishment of a racial German empire in Eurasia. The threat to the Americas would have stemmed far more from Hitler's pathological desire for security and his belief that security could only be achieved by the military domination of an area. In an age of intercontinental missiles and atom bombs, the threat to the New World of a Hitler-dominated Europe would have been very serious indeed.

Michigan State University NORMAN RICH

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MONEY AND CONQUEST: ALLIED OCCUPATION CURRENCIES IN WORLD WAR II. By *Vladimir Petrov.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXIV (1966), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. 282. $8.50.)

THIS is a difficult work to review. It is vigorously written and tackles many aspects of a fascinating and important problem. In Vietnam, our lavishly paid and affluently supplied troops are once again contributing to inflation and to black-market gangrene. But the many faults of this book overcome one's wish to recommend it. Mr. Petrov claims to have analyzed the economic and monetary developments of occupation currencies, together with their effects, chiefly on France, Italy, and Germany. He has, however, dipped only slightly into the statistical and analytical works by writers of the countries he studies. There are no references to works in French or Italian, a few in German, and eight in Russian. If he had read the works of Italian and French authors on these matters, I believe he would have been less sure as to how "enlightened" was Nazi occupation currency policy compared to ours and as to whether it was "a definite asset to the occupied countries." Petrov's real interests, however, are not these but the political and diplomatic problems involved. Several complete chapters, and large portions of others, do not touch on currency, but rather deal with matters of general occupation policy. Thus, we are forced again through the well-trampled field of the Morgenthau plan, JCS-1067, Harry Dexter White, and all that. Often his concern that we do not behave again in such a blundering and irresponsible way leads him, I feel, to be rather unfair. Those of us who lived through these experiences will, for example, be surprised to see here that "the American army made no effort to restrict the spending power of its troops" and that "economic chaos and inflation were part and parcel of the Allied policy."

So far as I can see, we must still wait for a better work than Frank A. Southard's *The Finances of European Liberation,* published only a year after the war.

University of Pennsylvania MARTIN WOLFE

AFRICA AND UNITED STATES POLICY. By *Rupert Emerson.* [America's Role in World Affairs Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1967. Pp. 117. Cloth $4.50, paper $1.95.)

RUPERT Emerson has packed a large volume of essential information about American interests in and policies toward Africa in this small book. His penetrating survey of African-American relations is distinguished by clarity of thought, a humane philosophy, and a sound grasp of the realities of international politics.

As Emerson points out, any meaningful analysis of American policy on Africa can no longer limit itself to generalities about self-determination, development, and good will for the whole continent. On the contrary, it must focus on particular states. In his longest chapter, "Where Dangers Threaten," he singles out the Congo and the "white redoubt" countries of Portuguese Africa, Rhodesia, and South Africa as our greatest policy problems. Throughout the book, in fact, he emphasizes the danger that the United States may ultimately find itself confronted by the "stark alternative" of embracing either black Africa or the white

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supremacy countries at the southern end of the continent. And, in a particularly valuable chapter on "The Negro American," he shows why American Negroes have not yet attained the full potential of their ability to influence African-American relations, but concludes that "it may be taken for granted" that both the Negro's interest in Africa and his power to do something about it "will sharply increase" in coming years.

In his conclusions the author analyzes with insight the misunderstandings caused by the American tendency "to look under the bed for Communists" and the African tendency to blame everything that goes wrong on "the imperialists." The truth is that Africans, like all other peoples, are quite capable of falling out among themselves and that outsiders may disagree with Africans without necessarily being enemies. Disagreements between African countries, or between themselves and the United States, "reflect significant differences in the position of states and in their estimate as to how best to safeguard and promote their interests."

The author believes that in coming years Africa will have "more coups and upheavals, more violence and revolution" than have already occurred. The policy choices for the United States "are likely to be tougher." His conclusion is that an American policy of "studied moderation, fearful of change, and laying the stress on stability" is inadequate. "Even in a short long-run, the risks of seeking to come to terms with the progressive forces are less than those flowing from being inextricably bound to an old order whose life draws toward an end."

School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University VERNON MCKAY

Ancient

STORIA DEI ROMANI. Volume III, L'ETÀ DELLE GUERRE PUNICHE. Part 1. By *Gaetano de Sanctis*. [Il Pensiero Storico, 38, Volume III.] (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice. 1967. Pp. xv, 420. L. 5,000.)

DE SANCTIS started to publish his history over half a century ago. The first appearance of this volume was in 1916. The work was never completed. Something of the author's misfortunes after 1920 and his struggles to produce his work is told in L. R. Taylor's review (*American Journal of Philology*, LXXVI [1955], 86) of Volume IV, Part 2, which appeared in 1953, thirty years after the preceding volume.

This volume deals with Carthage, the First Punic War, Polybius, the period before the Second Punic War, and the reform of the centuriate assembly, and it is called a second edition. The author's additions are enclosed in brackets; there are barely a score of them, and they are not important. The book should be judged as a reprint, therefore, of the 1916 edition.

To make it available again for new and expanding libraries was an excellent idea. The march of scholarship has not left this volume behind so much as it has some other parts of the work, especially that dealing with early Rome. The author's deep knowledge of the ancient world and his acuteness and fullness of exposition are still valuable, and there have not been such great surges of critical

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activity or so many new discoveries in this area as have occurred in other areas of Roman history.

One exception is the discovery in 1947 of the *Tabula Hebana,* which advanced our understanding of the reform of the centuriate assembly (see Lily Ross Taylor's recent *Roman Voting Assemblies*). Another exception is the improvement of our knowledge of the city of Carthage through excavations; as a result, the date of founding should probably be brought down nearly to 700 B.C. Few would now agree with De Sanctis that pure revenge was Hannibal's motive. If the author's view of the confrontation of 264 B.C. seems old-fashioned, it may still be as near the truth as more modern views of the behavior of nations. To follow him through almost any one of his arguments is useful.

New York University RICHARD M. HAYWOOD

SCIPIO AEMILIANUS. By *A. E. Astin.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 374. $10.40.)

THIS biography of one of the great figures of Rome in the second century B.C. is on the whole sound and judicious, the product of careful consideration of both ancient sources and modern research. The fragmentary nature of the evidence did not make it easy. In consequence, besides footnotes there are a dozen appendixes and additional notes that more than exhaust the alphabet. Some of the 111 appended pages are valuable, but some of the notes would not have been missed. Repetition in the text was considered necessary by the author, and he uses an inordinate number of cross references to point it out. An extreme example of this latter practice is found at the bottom of page 164, where the reader is advised by footnote to see the next page.

The opening sentence from the epilogue epitomizes the work: "The public career of Scipio Aemilianus, despite its dazzling brilliance, has a curiously negative quality." Even more curious and negative is Astin's attitude toward his subject. It seems ungracious in a biographer not to be somewhat sympathetic toward his subject, though overenthusiasm may be worse. Astin often chooses to believe the worst, even where the evidence is overwhelmingly favorable. Thus Polybius, with complimentary intent, reports Scipio's early decision to gain popularity through virtue, generosity, and accomplishment rather than through the less admirable methods of most politicians. In Astin's hands this becomes somehow reprehensible, even hypocritical and unscrupulous. Throughout, Scipio is by implication a failure in politics. Astin's own skillful political analyses show, however, that most of the persons Scipio supported attained the consulship (about half the total number of consuls between 146 B.C. and 129 B.C. when Scipio died). Astin seems to see in Aemilianus one who paved the way for the later "popular" destroyers of the Republic. This is, of course, partly right.

The book does not, unfortunately, consider at any length Scipio's relations with Greek and Roman intellectuals. Even though many gross overstatements have been made concerning the "Scipionic Circle," still, if Astin had looked for a positive contribution from Scipio, he might have found it here.

The anti-Scipio attitude tends to fade before it becomes unforgivable, and the

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defects are minor in relation to the whole. Astin is to be congratulated on this generally excellent book.

University of North Carolina HENRY C. BOREN

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU DEN KRIEGSFLOTTEN DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT. By *Dietmar Kienast.* [Antiquitas. Part 1, Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte, Number 13.] (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. 188.)

THE fundamental work on the make-up and operations of Rome's fleets is Chester Starr's *Roman Imperial Navy,* published twenty-five years ago. In four detailed studies, Kienast confirms, adds to, and adjusts in significant ways the picture Starr drew.

Starr proved that Rome's sailors were chiefly provincials and not slaves and freedmen, as is often asserted. Kienast's first study reaches the same conclusion and adds the interesting point that, from Augustus through Nero, the captains were often freedmen. Augustus, it appears, after defeating Sextus Pompey, took over both Pompey's tactics and the freedmen commanders who were expert in them. Starr and others have shown that the *cursus honorum* leading to command of a fleet invariably came after the holding of various army posts, and, by way of explanation, they have suggested that the admirals and commodores were primarily administrators. Kienast, re-examining the evidence, expresses doubts, but hardly justifies them. (Why, even after Vespasian, when ship captains were Roman citizens, was there no promotion from within, and why did the *praefecti* all come from the army? This is the crucial question, and Kienast does not even formulate it.) In the second study, devoted to the role of the fleet in domestic politics, a searching review of the evidence reveals that emperors who distrusted the Praetorians, such as Claudius or Nero, deliberately built up the Italian fleets as a counterweight. The third study discusses the founding of the provincial squadrons in the Mediterranean and argues that they were not part of an over-all plan, but grew up haphazardly, each owing its origin to some particular set of circumstances. Though the evidence is far from certain and many statements about date and cause of founding are conjectural, the general conclusion is convincing. The fourth study, treating ground that Starr did not cover, is probably the most important. It traces the navy during the fourth century and demonstrates that, contrary to current belief, it had by no means disappeared. Diocletian, including it in his general military reorganization, broke it up into smaller units; Constantine, Constantius, and Julian maintained and skillfully used substantial naval forces; and Constantine, by switching to lighter ships, planted the seeds that flowered into Byzantium's famed fleet of dromons.

These well-documented, well-argued studies are a solid contribution to Roman history.

New York University LIONEL CASSON

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Medieval

LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. Edited by *Robert S. Hoyt.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1967. Pp. 165. $5.50.)

THIS well-edited collection of essays offers much to all readers. Its papers are significant, and, throughout, the notes provide references both to sources and significant recent articles of analysis and interpretation. The volume has no central organizing principle, yet it succeeds in its stated goal of presenting the early Middle Ages as a period of a distinct culture and society with historical questions distinctly germane to itself.

Three articles constitute something of a core, revealing fundamental patterns of social, economic, and political history over a millennium. In the first of these Robert S. Lopez reflects on what can and cannot be said "Of Towns and Trade in the Early Middle Ages." His paper in effect is a series of statements on the classic historiographic problems of this era. And so we find comments on Pirenne's theory of trade-town relationship, the debate between Dopsch and Pirenne, size of cities and volume of trade, survival and use of coins, founding of towns, the impact of the Church upon early medieval urbanism, relations between merchants and authority, and the nature of merchant life itself. On all these matters we are treated to Lopez' usual hard sense of reality and clear thought.

Lynn White also is interested in social reality, and in his persuasive essay "The Life of the Silent Majority" he attempts to describe that life, starting from a picture of peasant well-being revealed in *Ruodlieb,* a German poem of the mid-eleventh century. He sees technological advance as the basis of the peasants' prosperity and their mastery of nature. By 1050 the wheeled plow and other inventions had forced new modes of social organization upon Northern Europe and had given a new and healthier look to the countryside. Mass use of water mills not only gave medieval man a "semiautomatic power machine"; it also made him conscious of the human power that enabled him to abstract himself from nature and sense himself free and able to master it. Technology's impact upon popular religion is also discussed in an excellent passage. In his "The Two Levels of Feudalism" Joseph Strayer attempts to describe the development and eventual fusion into a single governmental system of two distinct classes. Before 1000 he distinguishes between "armed retainers who became feudal knights and . . . royal officials . . . who became rulers of feudal principalities." He shows how the retainers rose to governmental authority while the descendants of high Carolingian officials lost it. By the eleventh century these processes resulted in the incipient assimilation of the previously distinct levels into a "continuous spectrum" of feudal ranks and, as we know, the creation of the network of allegiances and responsibilities that underlay the feudal monarchies' institutional development over the following two centuries.

The other fine essays are Katherine Fischer Drew's "Barbarian Kings as Lawgivers and Judges," Adolf Katzenellenbogen's "The Image of Christ in the Early Middle Ages," John C. McGalliard's *"Beowulf* and Bede," T. J. Oleson's "Viking—Tunnit—Eskimo," and Karl F. Morrison's "The Church, Reform, and

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Renaissance in the Early Middle Ages." Unfortunately, limitations of space forbid more detailed coverage of each.

Washington University PETER RIESENBERG

THE WORLD HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. Second Series, MEDIEVAL PERIOD. General Editor, *Cecil Roth*. Volume II, THE DARK AGES: JEWS IN CHRISTIAN EUROPE 711–1096. Editor, *Cecil Roth*. Revising Editor, *I. H. Levine*. ([New Brunswick, N. J.:] Rutgers University Press. 1966. Pp. xxiii, 493. $17.50.)

THIS large, handsome collective volume is the second to appear in the monumental *World History of the Jewish People,* scheduled to reach twenty volumes—the Jewish equivalent of the *Cambridge Ancient, Medieval,* and *Modern Histories*. The entire work was conceived and initiated in Israel by Professor B. Netanyahu, whom the eminent English-born Jewish historian Cecil Roth succeeded as editor. The Arab invasion of Spain, which saved the Jews from severe Visigothic persecution and opened up a new era of tolerance and prosperity for them all over Western Europe, occurred in 711. The First Crusade, with its attendant widespread massacre of the Jews of Western and Central Europe, took place in 1096. Use of the title *The Dark Ages* to describe this period is antiquated and should read "The Age of the Birth of Western Europe," as Lynn White and others have shown. The book contains contributions by sixteen scholars, most of international stature, from six different countries and eleven institutions of higher learning throughout the world. (The two from the United States are I. A. Agus of Yeshiva University and D. M. Dunlop of Columbia University.) The fifteen chapters of the volume treat, respectively, "Jewish Economic Life and Population Movements," "Jews in Byzantium," "Papal-Jewish Relations," "Jews in Italy, France, and Germany," "Jewish Scholarship in Byzantium, Italy, and Northern Europe," "Rashi [the great eleventh-century French-Jewish Bible and Talmud commentator] and His School," "Hebrew Poetry in Italy and Northern Europe," "Jewish Historiography," "Mysticism," "Old French Words in Rashi and the French Biblical Glossaries," "Science," "Ibrahim ibn Yacqub [tenth-century Jewish traveler from Spain to Central Europe]," "Jews in Bohemia, Hungary, and Kievan Russia," "The Khazars," "Jews in Christian Spain." The volume is enhanced by footnotes, bibliographies, an index, ten maps, and sixty illustrations, and is loaded with factual, well-interpreted information. It provides an excellent introduction to its subject. This work can also be compared with the more recent researches of Arthur Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland in the Ninth Century and the *Colaphus Judaeorum* in Toulouse" (*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research,* XXXIII [1965], 51–82), and his "The Conflict of Bishop Agobard and the Jews of Lyons: The Political Uses of Theology," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History,* edited by Allan Cutler (1968); two parts of Zuckerman's revolutionary book to be published soon entitled "A Vassal Jewish Principality in the Carolingian Empire from 768 to *circa* 900"; and Lea Dasberg, *Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des Judenstatus im 11. Jahrhundert* (1965).

Temple University ALLAN CUTLER

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THE LE MANS FORGERIES: A CHAPTER FROM THE HISTORY OF CHURCH PROPERTY IN THE NINTH CENTURY. By *Walter Goffart.* [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXVI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 382. $8.00.)

THIS closely reasoned volume offers a detailed analysis of a famous set of forgeries connected with the bishopric of Le Mans in northwestern France. Like the more familiar pseudo-Isidorian collection, which dates from the same century, the Le Mans collection has long been suspected as a forgery. This work is an attempt to get back to the actual forger and to establish the date and purpose of his work. To accomplish this end the manuscript sources are minutely analyzed, and the unity of the collection demonstrated. The printed editions and earlier critical evaluations are also surveyed to establish the current state of the problem.

By consulting contemporary testimony the author has discovered that a bishop of Le Mans was using a collection of documents to support his claims to possession of the monastery of St. Calais between 862 and 863. As a result Pope Nicholas I intervened and ordered an investigation of the claims at Verberie, where it was directed that the Le Mans documents be burned, and where it was decided that St. Calais, formerly a free institution, was actually a royal monastery. The forger had made use of supposed, contemporary lives of early bishops of the city and a series of forged charters to lay claim to all Church property in the diocese as belonging to the bishop. In so doing he cleverly concealed the actual date of his compilation and falsified the normal condition of Church property in the early Carolingian Age. These forgeries, according to Mr. Goffart, mark a stage in the process by which the Church lost its public character and approached the *Eigenkirche* of the feudal age.

Elaborate appendixes survey the charters and saints' lives of the collection and give the Latin texts for the long quotations used throughout the work. In general, the author seems to have substantiated his major conclusions.

Marquette University CYRIL E. SMITH

ESSAI SUR LES ORIGINES ET LA SIGNIFICATION DE LA COMMUNE DANS LE NORD DE LA FRANCE (XI^{e} ET XII^{e} SIÈCLES). By *Albert Vermeesch.* [Études présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'États, Number 30.] (Heule: UGA. 1966. Pp. 196, 41.)

ALBERT Vermeesch deserves the gratitude of all medievalists who have ever wrestled with the perplexing problem of communes, for his book should convince its readers that someone has at last begun to understand their origins, nature, and purpose. Considering the amount of energy that earlier, and notable, historians have expended on the subject, his is no mean achievement.

Vermeesch has little quarrel with Bréquigny's classic definition of a commune as a properly recognized sworn association having written customs and a self-elected magistracy with more or less extensive jurisdiction, but at the same time he rightly contends that Bréquigny's approach and that of his successors suffer from the limitation that they fail to place communes in a historical context that would make their creation comprehensible.

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When this is done, it becomes apparent that communes were not the revolutionary institution of a bourgeoisie anxious to break all ties with the feudal past; this is a myth invented by historians whose heads were filled with visions of 1789, 1830, and *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. Rather, the origins of communal organization are to be found in the Peace of God and in the sworn diocesan associations that grew up to administer it.

The evidence supporting this view is persuasive. Vermeesch is able to show that the Peace of God took on a new form when, around 1038, the archbishop of Bourges organized all males of his diocese into a sworn association that was to serve as a popular army preserving the peace as defined in the oath of association. After this point, and with increasing frequency, similar groups began to appear, organized either by a bishop for his diocese or by the bourgeoisie for its town. But no matter who their founder or what their geographical extent, such associations were invariably called communes and had as their purpose the maintenance of customs and the prevention of injustice, or, in other words, the preservation of "peace" in its medieval sense. Little wonder, then, that Vermeesch should conclude that communes in origin and purpose were nothing more than "an institution of peace, guaranteed by a popular army."

Since space limitations make it impossible to do justice to this work, suffice it to say that Vermeesch is mature and considered in his judgments and convincing in his over-all thesis. Few will agree with everything he says; I did not. Yet all should find that this book amply repays close reading.

Dartmouth College CHARLES T. WOOD

BURRENSIS COENOBII ANNALES: DIE CHRONIK DES KLOSTERS BLAUBEUREN. By *Christian Tubingius*. Edited and with an introduction by *Gertrud Brösamle*. German translation by *Bruno Maier*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 3.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1966. Pp. lxvi, 357. DM 43.50.)

THE annals of the Benedictine abbey of Blaubeuren near Ulm, written by Christian Tubingius about 1521, were first published in 1768 in a very faulty edition. A new critical edition and a German translation can only be welcomed. Little more than half of the annals deals with the abbey, but this half contains valuable material.

Tubingius devoted considerable space to a detailed and quite critical discussion of those who founded the abbey in 1085: the counts von Tübingen. He included three lists of members of the high nobility of the twelfth century and of noblemen and burghers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who gave property to the abbey. These lists provide insight not only into the economic position of the abbey, but are of great interest for genealogical studies of the upper Swabian nobility. The chronicle also offers valuable information on the earliest library of the abbey, on the founding of six other monasteries in Swabia, and on the consecration of several churches that belonged to the abbey. The editor analyzes Tubingius' views on the founders of the abbey and the lists of donors in two short but instructive essays at the end of the book.

Tubingius planned to write the history of the abbey in chronological order,

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year by year. But he seems to have exhausted the material rather soon and, from the year 1109 on, largely devotes himself to the history of the Empire, copying the chronicles of Nauclerus and Burchard von Ursberg. For the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries he limits himself to the history of the counts and dukes of Württemberg, relying on the work of Jakob Spindler. The chronicle ends with the year 1519.

Tubingius is of interest not just to the medievalist but also to the Reformation historian because as a monk at Blaubeuren he was personally affected when the Protestant Duke Ulrich of Württemberg confiscated the abbey in 1535. The editor describes the fate of the monks in an interesting introductory essay. Tubingius was evicted in 1536, but returned as abbot from 1548 to 1562 when he was finally arrested. He died in prison in 1563. Two memorandums of Tubingius are included.

University of California, Los Angeles CLAUS-PETER CLASEN

KING STEPHEN, 1135–1154. By *R. H. C. Davis.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 156. $5.00.)

EVERYONE interested in the medieval English scene will welcome the appearance of R. H. C. Davis' biography of England's most neglected king, Stephen of Blois. Until now, the only detailed study of that monarch's troubled times has been Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville* which was first published in 1892. A new interpretation, based on more recent scholarship and on materials unavailable to Round, has long been due. Certainly no one is better qualified for this task than Davis, who has been involved for more than a decade in preparing the third volume of the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum,* which will include all the known acts of Stephen, the Empress Matilda, and Dukes Geoffrey and Henry of Normandy.

Although *King Stephen* is a slender volume, the author has utilized his unrivaled knowledge of the sources to depict more clearly than ever before the career of an opportunist who took on responsibilities for which he was, military ability excepted, wholly unsuited. Stephen, as Davis makes clear, remained king because he was a good fighter. The style is concise but not exciting, and to one who has also spent much time attempting to unravel the often confusing accounts of the reign, it was rather disappointing to discover that everything Davis considered significant and interesting in a life that contained so much high drama could be related in so brief a narrative.

Only minor slips can be detected in Davis' account, and these are not worth quibbling about. It is possible, however, to take exception to his characterization of Stephen as "mistrustful and sly." The conduct of many of his professed supporters surely gave him reason to be mistrustful. If the King seized the Earls of Essex and Chester under circumstances that seem somewhat shady, it should be remembered that in earlier reigns, a summons to answer charges before the royal *curia* gave to a Robert de Mowbray and a Robert de Bellême ample warning to prepare their castles to stand siege when the summons was ignored. A king in Stephen's position could not afford the luxury of formalities. Certainly Stephen's

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threat to Roger le Poer had a precedent in Rufus' treatment of De Mowbray in 1095.

Interpretation aside, *King Stephen* is a work of sound scholarship on a reign that historians have hitherto neglected because of its complexities, and it fills a long-existing gap in our knowledge of the Anglo-Norman period.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro JOHN BEELER

THE LETTERS AND CHARTERS OF GILBERT FOLIOT, ABBOT OF GLOUCESTER (1139–48), BISHOP OF HEREFORD (1148–63) AND LONDON (1163–87). An edition projected by the late *Z. N. Brooke* and completed by *Dom Adrian Morey* and *C. N. L. Brooke*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. liv, 575. $37.50.)

THIS excellent edition and work of scholarship is a model of its kind. The principal manuscript for the letters, written during Gilbert's lifetime, was edited in 1846 by J. A. Giles and reprinted in Migne's *Patrologiae*. Other letters were printed in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* in the Rolls Series, but the charters, which compose about one-third of the book, are scattered in various manuscripts, and many are printed here for the first time. Although comparison of a few randomly selected letters with the Giles edition seems to bear out the editors' own modest estimate of their textual work, even minor corrections make for easier reading, and others are more significant (as in number 113 where they correct Giles to reveal the identity of sender and receiver). Where Giles simply followed the order of letters in his manuscript, the present editors employ a chronological arrangement more useful to historians and insert letters not in the principal manuscript.

The general introduction should be consulted by anyone interested in medieval letter collections. Also, the introductory notes to individual letters might be studied profitably as a model of procedure for supplying dates to undated letters. In addition to an adequate textual apparatus, the editors supply notes to each letter: on the historical context; identification of Biblical, canon law, and literary quotations and allusions; and extensive bibliographical references to related materials.

It is only a slight exaggeration to say that the vast amount of learning embodied in the notes would provide a key to the history of the Church in twelfth-century England. To what extent the publication of these letters and charters will be a stimulus for further research is more problematical. Already the letters have been used as the source for many articles, and the editors have published *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters* (*AHR,* LXXII [Oct. 1966], 153) based on this edition. Their earlier book is, in fact, essential in using this edition because the identification of members of Gilbert's household and of the chapters at Hereford and London is given only in the earlier work. The principal value of this edition for further research would seem to be less on specific topics, for which the letters have been used extensively, than for larger subjects, for which they are now conveniently accessible in a completely satisfactory edition.

Duke University CHARLES R. YOUNG

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KAISERTATEN UND MENSCHENSCHICKSALE IM SPIEGEL DER SCHÖNEN REDE: REDEN UND BRIEFE DES NIKETAS CHONIATES. Translated, introduced, and annotated by *Franz Grabler*. [Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Number 11.] (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1966. Pp. 403. Sch. 140.)

Nicetas Choniates (c. 1155–c. 1215) was one of the greatest of Byzantine historians. His style is highly elaborate, sometimes provoking the scorn of modern readers for its hypersophisticated artificiality, but in this respect he merely typifies Byzantine intellectualism at its most refined. He is our chief source for the late Comnenian and Angelan periods and, above all, for the Age of the Fourth Crusade, to which he was an eyewitness. In addition, his penetrating insight and cultivation make his work a genuine contribution to the literature of the Middle Ages.

Unfortunately, as with so many Byzantine authors, Nicetas' work is not yet available in English translation. Dr. Grabler has, however, done a German translation of Nicetas' historical writings in Numbers 7–9 of the "Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber" series. To this same series he now contributes this volume as a kind of supplement. It contains eighteen samples of Nicetas' shorter "rhetorical" works plus eleven letters, all of which the translator offers to "enliven and fill out" the author's formal historical account. They date from the reigns of Emperors Isaac II (1185–1195), Alexius III (1195–1203), and Theodore I (1204–1222), many of them touching upon or associated with historical events of these regimes. But, while there are some particularly important passages bearing on the early Lascarid government-in-exile in Nicaea, for the most part these texts add relatively little historical knowledge by themselves, and some of them are indeed of slender substance. It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss them as unworthy of notice. As the translator observes, "They give . . . a good idea of the conventional expression and rationale at court," and, even more, "they can provide us with a sense of the Byzantines' essential character." However artificial and exasperating may be the inflated rhetoric of some Byzantine writing, it was a basic feature of this expression. Readers without Greek have little access to this aspect of Byzantine literature, so that there is ample justification for translating these valuable examples of the genre.

While it is impossible to translate Byzantine rhetorical style intelligibly without simplifying it to some extent, Grabler's renditions at least give a conscientious suggestion of the original Greek flavor. What also gives this volume an immediate interest is that some of these texts have never been available before in any form. Of the eighteen "Reden," seven had been edited previously by Sathas and Miller, while the latter also published four of the eleven letters. The remaining texts will be published in the original for the first time only in the forthcoming critical edition of Nicetas' works by L. A. van Dieten. Though scholars will have to await the Van Dieten edition for the original texts and the formal apparatus, the less specialized reader will find adequate guidance in the concise introductions given each selection and the supplementary notes provided in this work. It also includes a short biographical sketch of Nicetas' career, which serves as a quick chronology for the selections. Grabler has identified the quotations and allusions

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made by Nicetas to classical or scriptural passages that are so much a part of Byzantine style. He has indicated carefully the page references to the editions of Sathas and Miller, though this was not yet possible for Van Dieten's work. The only thing that puzzles me is his failure to put the "Reden" into some sort of chronological order.

Though this volume is less of a contribution to the repertoire of Byzantine historical texts in translation than some of the other volumes in this series, it adds an unusual dimension to the material available for the study of Byzantine civilization.

University of Wisconsin JOHN W. BARKER

SAISIMENTUM COMITATUS THOLOSANI. Published by *Yves Dossat.* [Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, Section de Philologie et d'Histoire, jusqu'à 1610. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Series in-8⁰, Volume I.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1966. Pp. xx, 509.)

WHEN Alfonse of Poitiers died on August 21, 1271, and his wife Countess Jeanne succumbed on the following day, the important domains of Toulouse, Agenais, and Querci reverted to the crown of France. These principalities, long controlled by the House of St. Gilles, needed immediate attention from royal officials in order to establish Capetian claims quickly and firmly. Though he assumed the title of count in the Toulousain, the King did not annex the new holdings to the realm. This occurred almost a century later, during the reign of John the Good.

This collection of well-edited documents, a model of fine French scholarship, provides in convenient and more complete form materials of primary importance for any serious student of Capetian history. The documents for Toulouse and the Agenais have been previously available in older editions, but those for Querci, once believed to be lost, were discovered by Dossat and are here published for the first time. Guillaume de Cohardon, seneschal in Carcassonne, was the energetic defender of royal interests and immediately following Alfonse's death arranged ceremonies for the taking of oaths and the preservation of royal rights. Guillaume provided a strong hand to guide the establishment of royal administration. Alfonse had endeavored to increase the importance of these southern lands and had managed to do so without much opposition. In typical fashion his vassals had voiced discontent and complained of the abuse of power. He had, in a sense, continued the policy of Count Raymond VII. Late in May 1272 King Philip himself visited this land "which God had given him." God was so often kind to the Capetian house!

Although there is great similarity of substance and form in these documents, the *Saisimentum* reflects the systematic procedures of the royal officials and the care they showed in assuming responsibility for protecting Capetian interests, even to the extent of removing officials of little use to the King in order to avoid unnecessary expenses. Almost one-third of the volume is reserved for a helpful and necessary index of names. There are also a convenient topical index and a short bibliography.

Northwestern University GRAY C. BOYCE

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JOHANNES VON JANDUN (1285/89–1328): UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR BIOGRAPHIE UND SOZIALTHEORIE EINES LATEINISCHEN AVERROISTEN. By *Ludwig Schmugge.* [Pariser historische Studien, Number 5.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1966. Pp. viii, 151. DM 32.)

By his own confession John of Jandun was an "ape of Aristotle and Averroës." Yet his radical naturalism was not simply the product of "integral Aristotelianism" or of devotion to "The Commentator." It had to do also, as the author of this monograph argues, with the frame of reference of the arts faculty of the University of Paris, where John taught for a decade. In other words, John's acceptance of a "double truth," or at least his recognition of an impenetrable barrier between philosophy and theology, reflected not so much heretical free thought as unabashed professionalism. Such was the basis of that "political Renaissance" of which Alois Dempf has written, and such was the context of the social and political ideas of John, which is the subject of this exceptionally clear and careful study.

In order to analyze the career and thought of this archetypal "Latin Averroist," Ludwig Schmugge has assembled comments scattered throughout various *Quaestionnes* on Aristotle's work, especially the *Metaphysics* and the *Rhetoric,* on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics,* and in the *De Laudibus Parisius.* He has made full use of recent scholarship, especially the work of Stuart MacClintock, and has fruitfully pursued his investigation into manuscript sources. In a rigidly systematic fashion he discusses three general topics: the philosophic foundation, the state and politics, and the relation of the individual and society, including the ideas of freedom, law, necessity, fortune, kingship, and priesthood. On the whole it is a good job, although nothing very remarkable emerges except the extent of John's legal relativism and of his endorsement of the ideal of secular happiness (*felicitas politica*).

More interesting is the discussion of John's famed friend and fellow exile, Marsilius of Padua. Most scholars, including the various editors of the *Defensor Pacis,* have rejected the charge (which no one in the fourteenth century doubted) that John had a hand in the composition of this subversive work, and recently Alan Gewirth has shown a number of basic differences in the ideas of the two men. The present book offers evidence to modify this view. On the basis of a newly discovered work attributed to Marsilius, *Quaestiones* on the *Metaphysics,* and a reassessment of the *Defensor Pacis,* Schmugge exhibits a number of striking parallels between the writing of these men with regard to each of the three topics treated. The disparities can often be ascribed, he thinks, to the different political backgrounds of the two men. His rather tentative conclusion is that Marsilius' reliance upon John's ideas was greater than has been supposed. Perhaps this is not very remarkable, either. In any case Schmugge has provided a useful study of an unconventional political commentator and has made a significant contribution to the growing mass of Marsiliana.

State University of New York, Binghamton DONALD R. KELLEY

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TRAITÉ DES OFFICES. By *Pseudo-Kodinos*. Introduction, text, and translation by *Jean Verpeaux*. [Le monde byzantin, Number 1.] (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1966. Pp. 420. 95 fr.)

In the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Ottoman Turks took control of the Dardanelles and their conquering troops advanced into Thrace, a Byzantine courtier or imperial bureaucrat put together a book of ceremonies and court etiquette reminiscent of that which Emperor Constantine VII compiled in the better days of the Empire. The authorship of this work has been wrongly attributed to Georgios Kodinos since the beginning of its manuscript tradition. As the author cannot be identified, he is referred to as Pseudo-Kodinos.

The date of composition, as the editor points out, must be placed between 1347 and 1354, or possibly 1368, on the basis of internal evidence, namely, references to the reign of John VI Cantacuzenus and allusions to Church affairs connected with the canonization of Gregory Palamas (1368). There is also a parallel account of the coronation of Andronicus III in the history of Cantacuzenus and the book of Pseudo-Kodinos, and this provides us with additional chronological clues. These and other matters, notably the problems related to the manuscript tradition, form the substance of the introduction. The rest of the volume is devoted to the text, the translation, and the index.

The text itself is carefully edited, accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* that testifies to the untiring scholarship of Jean Verpeaux and a French translation that leaves nothing to be desired. Verpeaux, who was neither a professional historian nor a philologist, died in 1965, after producing a noteworthy monograph on Nicephorus Choumnos in 1959.

The significance of the Pseudo-Kodinos text is inevitably connected with the fourteenth-century historical works of Byzantium, such as Gregoras and John Cantacuzenus, which have abundant references to court life and ceremonies. The text is also interesting for its language and vocabulary, especially the emergence of modern Greek and the intrusion of Neo-Latin and Turkish terms. The volume inaugurates a new series of publications under the general direction of Paul Lemerle.

University of Texas G. G. Arnakis

DIPLOMATARIUM DANICUM. Third Series, 1340–1412. Volume IV, 1353–1356. Edited by *C. A. Christensen* and *Herluf Nielsen*. (Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1966. Pp. xviii, 459.)

This is the most recent volume of a project to publish all letters pertaining to the Danish Middle Ages. This modern chartulary was begun in 1938 with twelve volumes covering the period 1240–1340 and entitled the Second Series (*AHR*, XLV [July 1940], 950). The older period until 1240 was covered in the First Series started in 1957, and the present Third Series will cover the rest of the Middle Ages.

The work contains all documents in letter form concerning the Danish Kingdom within its medieval boundaries, including South Slesvig and the Swedish provinces, but excluding the Faeroe Islands and Greenland. All letters are pref-

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aced with a brief summary in Danish, and letters to or from Danish persons or institutions are published *in extenso,* while foreign letters with Danish references are summarized or excerpted. The material is organized strictly chronologically, and the editorial work meets the highest standards of modern scholarship. A photostatic edition of all preserved original letters (*Corpus Diplomatum Regni Danici*) and a translation into modern Danish of the main series (*Danmarks Riges Breve*) have been published parallel to this series. Most of the material has been known for a long time through older calendared editions. The present volume covers part of the hectic reign of King Valdemar IV, whose main task was to purchase back his kingdom from the German counts to whom it had been mortgaged during the preceding period.

Towson State College JENNY JOCHENS

DOCUMENTI SUL QUATTROCENTO GENOVESE. [Fonti e Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica, Number 4.] (Genoa: [the Fonti.] 1966. Pp. 311.)

THE fourth volume of this new series contains six documents of various lengths with accompanying studies and paleographical analysis by the editors. The documents are found in the library of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo or in the *Archivio di Stato* of Genoa.

Maria Balletto has edited the *Liber Privatus di Giovanni da Diano (1392–1419).* Giovanni recorded in not too methodical fashion his personal business affairs that included such varied interests as instruction, trade in wine, salt, grain, loans, purchases of cloth, rentals, and sales of houses. Giovanni, though not a professional merchant, must have been an active and successful businessman, and one may hope that his religious pursuits were on a comparable level. *La Biblioteca dell' Arcivescovo Pietro de Giorgi (1436),* edited by Dino Puncuh contained, according to the possibly incomplete inventory, ninety-five volumes. The library was primarily religious, as behooved an archbishop, but it also included works of Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Caesar, Plautus, Quintilian, and Seneca, indicating contemporary humanistic interests. *Il Catalogo Festale Genovese del 1437,* edited by Giovanna Balbi, records only forty religious festivals on which the inhabitants of Pera and Caffa enjoyed respite from their work in addition to Sundays and normal holy days. The number was considerably less than the number in Genoa in other years: eighty-two in 1375; sixty-nine in 1410; and ninety-six in 1588. According to the editor the reduction probably reflected a strong mercantile view that looked upon nonworking holidays as economic losses.

Most monastic institutions in the Middle Ages ran upon evil days, and the nunnery of St. Maria di Belvedere was no exception according to Mariella Loncini, editor of its *Liber Locorum (1423–1508).* It is an inventory of the holdings of the monastery, mainly originating from the dowries of nuns coming from distinguished Genoese families. Alberto Boldorini edits a short narrative of a brief visit of Ludovico Sforza, his second, to Genoa *(Una fonte inedita sulla visita di Ludovico il Moro a Genova nel 1498).* The account of the visit was written by a canon of San Lorenzo in narrative, descriptive form, without reference to politics and diplomacy. In the final, much longer, study, *I Gerosolimitani in San Gio-*

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vanni Vecchio (1500–1505), Gabriella Airaldi edits the rules of the Order of St. John the Elder.

Without deprecating the scholarship of these studies, I recommend that the editors of the series give attention to works of more general interest than several of these studies have.

University of Cincinnati HILMAR C. KRUEGER

COMPTES GÉNÉRAUX DE L'ÉTAT BOURGUIGNON ENTRE 1416 ET 1420. Part 1; Part 2, in two volumes. Published by *Michel Mollat,* with the collaboration of *Robert Favreau,* under the direction of *Robert Fawtier.* [Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers, Number 5.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; distrib. by Librairie Klinksieck, Paris. 1965; 1966. Pp. lxiii, 505; 614, 617–970.)

THESE three fascicules contain the complete texts of two accounts of the Burgundian receipt-general of all finances, covering the year 1419, and of three accounts of the receipt-general of the duchy and county of Burgundy, covering the years 1418, 1419, and 1420. To follow, in subsequent fascicules, are two accounts of the receipt-general of the counties of Flanders and Artois for the years 1417, 1418, and 1419, and the index. All this together forms Number 5 of "Documents financiers" published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres in the series "Recueil des historiens de la France."

An admirable introduction, in which Professor Mollat gives a masterly account of the Burgundian financial administration, a description of the accounts themselves, and an assessment of the financial resources of the Burgundian state, prefaces the first fascicule of text. He provides, too, an invaluable table showing the total expenses and receipts of the surviving accounts of the Burgundian receipt-general of all finances between 1384 and 1477 expressed conveniently in French royal money or livres tournois, as well as lists of the principal Burgundian accounting officers.

Let it be said at once that this is a work of careful scholarship that will be of considerable value to historians. At last, for the first time, we have in print a group of general and regional Burgundian accounts, related chronologically. The editorial technique used is above reproach, with one exception: the headlines are totally uninformative since they only repeat the title of the fascicule. May a plea be registered here, that, if time permits, headlines indicating the relevant chapter of the accounts—embassies, gifts, pensions, or whatever—be used in the fascicules still to come?

It is indisputable that what has been done here has been done well, and the accounts printed in these bulky quarto volumes (a thousand pages so far) will serve as useful specimens. But the question inevitably arises: it is really worthwhile publishing this accounting material *in extenso?* The dedicated researcher may really want to establish the Duke's medical or even laundry expenses at Hesdin in 1419. He may think it worthwhile to speculate on the curious fact, revealed in these accounts, that Philip the Good got through fifty pairs of shoes, at six shillings a pair, between Easter 1419 and the following October 31. But could not these trivia be presented in tabulated form instead of transcribed in full, along

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with the endlessly repeated verbal formulas of the scribes? The bulk, and the consequent high cost, of this elaborate edition, is almost entirely a result of printing everything *in extenso*. Let us hope by all means that the excellent work of publishing these accounts continues, but, bearing in mind that microfilm copies are easily obtainable at less cost than the printed edition, would it not be worth considering printing these accounts in an abbreviated, tabulated form, and furnishing this printed version with an index giving references to the folio of the manuscript as well as the page of the printed text?

University of Hull RICHARD VAUGHAN

BOURGOGNE ET ANGLETERRE: RELATIONS POLITIQUES ET ÉCONOMIQUES ENTRE LES PAYS-BAS BOURGUIGNONS ET L'ANGLETERRE, 1435–1467. By *Marie-Rose Thielemans*. [Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Number 30.] (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles. 1966. Pp. 641.)

THIS book was originally presented in 1963 as a *thèse* for the degree *docteur en philosophie et lettres*. Although the period of Dr. Thielemans' study, a chronological span that centers upon the Treaty of Arras and the effects of that political *démarche* upon the relationships between England and Burgundy, has been ably dealt with by such earlier scholars as Calmette, Bonenfant, Dickinson, and Carus-Wilson, the author makes a significant contribution with the publication of the present work.

From the viewpoint of political history, the author has given us a careful study that fully explains the complex interrelationships between England and the Burgundian possessions at a time when economic considerations were acting to force a somewhat reluctant commercial *Intercursus* between these two North Sea powers. The narrative concerns itself with the period during which the *volte-face* of Arras was itself reversed by a necessary return to the traditional Anglo-Flemish accords over wool, cloth, and many other products. The basic weaknesses behind the splendid façade of Duke Philip's state are brought out by inference, both in his inability to establish himself as a third major military power in the west and through his helplessness before determining economic factors that directed his foreign policy along channels inimical to his personal political preferences.

It is in the field of economic history, however, that Thielemans makes her most significant and original contribution to the scholarship of the later Middle Ages. Although considerations of space make a full description of her economic research and findings impossible, it seems certain that the carefully described results of her labor will be destined to stand for many years as the definitive analysis of Anglo-Burgundian trade relationships for this period. Not only has the author given us an exhaustive study of the vital trades in wool and cloth, but she has also explored deeply into such other facets of this North Sea commerce as the movements of lead, wax, candles, salt, fish, and many other products. In addition to her meticulous study of these material matters, Thielemans has never lost sight of the diplomatic-commercial-political maneuvers and agreements that alternately aided and hindered this trade. Finally, she has set forth her quantitative

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evidence in an excellent manner, through an effective use of detailed charts and tables.

University of Louisville REGINALD BRILL

DIARIA DE BELLO CAROLINO (DIARY OF THE CAROLINE WAR). By *Alessandro Benedetti.* Edited with introduction, translation, and notes by *Dorothy M. Schullian.* [Renaissance Society of America, Renaissance Text Series, Number 1.] (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company for the Society. 1967. Pp. ix, 276. $8.50.)

As the first work to appear in the new "Text Series" sponsored by the Renaissance Society of America, this publication will be an object of unusual interest. It suggests that the series will be attractively produced and that its texts will be adequately surrounded by prefaces, notes, bibliographies, indexes, and whatever else scholars require, although this work, which is largely local military history, could also have used maps. Dr. Schullian has contributed a well-written and informative introduction, and her translation of the text, which faces the Latin original, is clear and workmanlike.

Alessandro Benedetti's account of the Italian expedition and retreat of Charles VIII seems, however, hardly valuable enough to justify this lavish treatment. Benedetti, a physician in the service of Venice, accompanied the Italian forces that pressed the French in their withdrawal from Italy. He was present at the Battle of Fornovo and the siege of Novara, and he kept notes of these events, which he reworked, set in a somewhat larger framework, and published in 1496. The result incorporates some vivid detail, and Benedetti's account is of occasional interest for the attitudes of Italians toward the invaders or the workings of the mercenary system, among other matters. It is also of minor historiographical interest; the author was concerned with the events themselves rather than in accumulating didactic *exempla,* although he had little capacity for political analysis. But I find it difficult to believe that many scholars are now likely to find this text of much value.

University of California, Berkeley WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

Modern Europe

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND EUROPE, 1400 TO 1800: COLLECTED ESSAYS. By *Walther Kirchner.* [Indiana University Publications, Russian and East European Series, Volume XXXIII.] (Bloomington: Indiana University. 1966. Pp. x, 332. $5.00.)

THIS volume of essays dealing with the early trade relations of Russia and Europe consists of reprinted articles that have appeared in a number of European and American historical journals. The justification for their reappearance in a collection is to make them more accessible to readers whose interests are less specialized than those to whom the articles were originally addressed. Despite the difficulties involved in converting journal articles into book chapters, without

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revisions, the book comes off well. Kirchner's long-standing interest in the Baltic question, in Russian trade relations, and in foreign travelers in Russia gives the work a cohesiveness that would otherwise be lacking.

Even at best, a work of this kind cannot be judged by the standards applied to the usual historical monograph. The articles, which were written in three different languages over a period of twenty years, are heavily weighted in favor of the author's predilection for sixteenth- and eighteenth-century history. Of the twelve essays, four deal with the sixteenth century, five with the eighteenth, and only three with the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Certain ideas appear repetitious. The role of the city of Narva in sixteenth-century Europe, which is ably discussed in a separate chapter, for example, is reiterated throughout the text.

Satisfactory studies of early Russian foreign trade are not plentiful. Reputable historians have dealt with Russian trade relations in given periods or with particular countries, but a truly comprehensive, scholarly history does not exist. Kirchner's collected essays, therefore, are especially welcome. Based in large measure on archival research and skillfully written, they authoritatively answer many basic questions about the scope of Russian foreign trade in earlier centuries.

Most of the essays emphasize the nature and extent of West European commercial interest in Russia; others deal with related subjects. Kirchner successfully removes some lingering misconceptions about Russian trade and offers many arresting observations. He demonstrates that trade flourished, if on a modest scale, throughout the period.

This book should interest not only European, Russian, and economic historians but students in Russian history courses. It deals in understandable terms with a critical side of economic history and does so with clarity and vision.

University of California, Davis C. Bickford O'Brien

ENTERPRISE AND ADVENTURE: THE GENOESE IN SEVILLE AND THE OPENING OF THE NEW WORLD. By *Ruth Pike*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 243. $6.75.)

Both before and after Columbus the Genoese played a role of primary importance in the economic life of Spain and its possessions in Europe and oversea. This role, which gradually transformed Genoa from a commercial metropolis of the Mediterranean to the capital of Catholic finance (much at the same time that Amsterdam became the capital of Protestant finance), has been generally understated; the only general outline available in English is hidden in Ehrenberg's pioneer book, where the ephemeral rise and fall of the Fuggers has the lead. No doubt there are several monographs in other languages on one aspect or another of Genoese activities, but none on Seville, their westernmost outpost in Europe. We must be grateful to Ruth Pike for shouldering this task in a short, dense, well-documented book.

She examines the general structure and social standing of the Genoese colony, the physical development of booming Seville, the effects of sixteenth-century expansion in America on trade by Genoese resident and transient inhabitants of

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Seville, their commercial and financial operations, their participation in the settlement and exploration of the New World. All this is founded on a thorough study of printed and unprinted Spanish sources, ranging from notarial protocols to picaresque novels. In addition, the author has had the courage to compress into tables or relegate to footnotes an unwieldy mass of material that would otherwise have made the book difficult to read. Her account is lucid and, at times, graceful. It would be still better if she had found it possible to place the story of Seville more forcefully in the broader perspective of the twin drama of Genoa and Spain. The latter, in spite of ill-supported efforts by individual adventurers, was an agrarian and military monarchy that saw in the New World chiefly a source of unearned treasure and spent the treasure for glory instead of reinvesting it near its place of origin. The Genoese were businessmen who could no longer support their ambitions with their flag and arms and faced the alternative of losing their identity and traditional pursuits by adopting the Spanish way of life or clinging to the lonesome role of exploiters and parasites in an alien body too weak to shake them off. Most of them chose the second solution. They traded, mainly in slaves and sugar, but had to circumvent restrictions against aliens; they crossed to the Indies, but the success of Columbus did not quite open the way for further exploration under overt Genoese leadership. It was easier to lend money, especially to the king, but since the king was a bad payer his financiers eventually shared the failure of the Spanish monarchy.

Yale University ROBERT S. LOPEZ

ALLE ORIGINI DEL PENSIERO POLITICO LIBERTINO: MONTAIGNE E CHARRON. By *Anna Maria Battista.* [Istituto de Studi Storico-Politici, Università di Roma, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Number 11.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1966. Pp. 287. L. 2,400.)

THIS book on the origins of libertine political thought grew out of an investigation intended as a study of the fortune of Machiavelli in France. As a result of her research, the author has been led to conclude that, contrary to the accepted view, the influence of Machiavelli's writings upon sixteenth-century French political theory was only a marginal one. According to her, the marked reaction that occurred in France against the prevailing political thought had its source in the works of the skeptics of classical antiquity, and only incidentally in those of the Florentine statesman and historian. The new psychological and intellectual climate was best represented by Montaigne and his disciple Charron, who, in their dissatisfaction with the existing system of values, which had failed to ensure the state peace and prosperity, adopted—Charron in more overt fashion—the method developed by the skeptic school to re-examine the objective contents of justice, natural law, and other ethical standards intended to guide political action. To those who will ask how this fact can have escaped the attention of students of political science, the author retorts that it is to be accounted for by a certain tendency to interpret in terms of "Machiavellism" any view differing from orthodox political doctrine, without investigating the possibility of other influences, whence the epithet "Machiavellian" applied either to Montaigne or Charron. The purpose, therefore, of her study was not only to isolate in the

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works of these two writers those particular aspects of their thought that reflect a reaction against the political theories prevailing in their time but also to assess the meaning, implications, and limits of this reaction. This was, as the author herself admits, a delicate undertaking since one does not find in the works of Montaigne and his disciple a systematic exposition of their political views but only rather fragmentary notations and hints from which these views are to be deduced.

Dr. Battista's study is a careful piece of research based upon extensive documentation as shown by the numerous footnotes accompanying the text. Well organized and written, moreover, in a lucid style, it commends itself to the attention of all students of political thought.

University of Virginia JOSEPH MÉDARD CARRIÈRE

FRÜHAUFKLÄRUNG: DER KAMPF GEGEN DEN KONFESSIONALISMUS IN MITTEL- UND OSTEUROPA UND DIE DEUTSCH-SLAWISCHE BEGEGNUNG. By *Eduard Winter*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des religiösen und wissenschaftlichen Denkens, Number 6.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 423. DM 36.50.)

OST UND WEST IN DER GESCHICHTE DES DENKENS UND DER KULTURELLEN BEZIEHUNGEN: FESTSCHRIFT FÜR EDUARD WINTER ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG. Edited by *W. Steinitz et al.* With a preface by *A. P. Juškevič*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 15.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1966. Pp. x, 816. DM 95.)

EDUARD Winter is a sociologist, theologian, and historian whose prolific talents are certified in the *Festschrift* with a list of publications fully twenty-three pages long. He has devoted his latest study to the struggle between the confessional absolutism of the seventeenth-century princes and the secular rationalism of the rising bourgeoisie. While the ultimate triumph of enlightened thought was never in doubt in the Protestant maritime countries, the struggle was more lengthy in the landlocked and overwhelmingly Catholic countries. But here, too, secularism made some progress, the author insists, because the weak bourgeoisie was powerfully assisted by some nobles, priests, and even by a number of enlightened Jesuits. Not unlike the bourgeois leaders of the nineteenth-century working class, these priests and nobles guided the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century bourgeoisie in its struggle for a rational society. The enlightened absolutism brought about by Leibniz, Pufendorf, Thomasius, Eugene of Savoy, Peter the Great, Prokopovich, Febronius, and others was thus antifeudal and not, as some people maintain, the last resort of the feudal forces. All this might sound hard to digest, but Winter has actually garnered his ideas from a rather breath-taking list of primary sources. He seems to have read sources in every East European language, and his list of "important works consulted" extends to thirty-eight pages. The organization of his work is clear and simple, with separate chapters devoted to the early Enlightenment in Germany, Austria, Bohemia, northern (Slovak) Hungary, Poland, the Ukraine, and Russia.

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The *Festschrift* is a formidable compendium of seventy-eight contributions in German or, exceptionally, in French, English, or Russian. While almost half of the contributors are from the German Democratic Republic, mainly from Winter's own Humboldt University, there are also sixteen Soviet contributors and an appropriate number of other East Europeans. The West is represented by a handful of Swedes, French, Japanese, Germans, and Austrians, and by Otakar Odložilik of the University of Pennsylvania. The several articles devoted to German-Slav cultural relations are totally unrelated, and the others embrace all conceivable subjects from "German Participants in Pugachev's Rebellion" to "The Vatican and the Great October Socialist Revolution." Some articles dealing with newly uncovered primary sources are very precise; other more general studies are as biased as they are pedestrian. There is also an impressive lack of appreciation for Western scholarship in these writings. To name only one example, O. Feyl of Humboldt University found it appropriate to call André G. Whitside, that is, Andrew G. Whiteside of Queens College, a Nazi sympathizer although he has admittedly never seen Whiteside's work on the Bohemian origins of National Socialism.

Columbia University ISTVAN DEAK

MEZHDUNARODNYE OTNOSHENIIA NA SEVERE EVROPY V NACHALE XIX VEKA I PRISOEDINENIE FINLIANDII K ROSSII V 1809 GODU [International Relations in Northern Europe in the Beginning of the 19th Century and the Joining of Finland to Russia in 1809]. By *I. I. Kiaiviaraiinen.* [Petrozavodskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet, Im. O. V. Kusinena.] (Petrozavodsk: Karel'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo. 1965. Pp. 282.)

At least as much attention is given by Kiaiviaraiinen to the development of policy within the Russian government toward Finland as to international relations proper. In this sense the book's title is incomplete. Kiaiviaraiinen's major conclusions are in general agreement with those offered in recent works by two non-Soviet specialists on Finnish history, Jutikkala and Wuorinen: Tsar Alexander I was not eager to respond to French pressure after Tilsit that he go to war with Sweden; nor was he motivated, in attacking Sweden, primarily by the desire to annex Finland permanently as a means of protecting St. Petersburg. All three authors agree that Russian policy regarding the ultimate disposition of Finland oscillated considerably between the beginning of hostilities in February 1808 and the latter months of that year.

Since Kiaiviaraiinen's study is centered on these questions it, of course, provides much greater detail than do the two general histories of Finland by Jutikkala and Wuorinen. Kiaiviaraiinen's book also is much more concerned with the relations between the Finnish separatists, especially G. Sprengtporten, and the Russian authorities. These relationships are viewed sympathetically.

The author stresses at several points that the concessions Finland received from Russia in 1808–1809 were not the fruit of Russian liberalism or humanism. They were granted because of the over-all needs of Russian foreign policy. Especially after mid-1808 the concessions arose, in response to Sprengtporten's

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urging, from Alexander I's wish to have a friendly Finnish hinterland should war begin again with Napoleon. Kiaiviaraiinen argues that Russia's actions, though not motivated by truly liberal sentiments, brought enormous benefit to Finland. He carries this to the extreme point of asserting that "without the war of 1808–1809 and the Diet at Borgå there would not be a contemporary Finnish state."

The extensive bibliography of archival and published sources that appears at the end of the book is appropriate to a work of scholarship; the opening philippic against the twentieth-century Finnish Social Democrat, Väinö Tanner, most certainly is not.

State University of New York, Cortland WALTER HANCHETT

PRELUDE TO TRAGEDY: THE NEGOTIATION AND BREAKDOWN OF THE TRIPARTITE CONVENTION OF LONDON, OCTOBER 31, 1861. By *Carl H. Bock*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1966. Pp. 799. $10.00.)

As the subtitle suggests, this study is limited to the diplomacy that led to foreign intervention into Mexico in 1861–1862 and to the breakdown of the Anglo-Franco-Spanish convention that enabled the French to go it alone. The actual conquest of Mexico is not included. The author correctly claims to have examined the relevant archival sources, including some not used by earlier students of French intervention. He has achieved the most extensive review of the origins of that bizarre event yet published by a diplomatic historian, and his book may be called definitive to the extent that he successfully casts doubt that the infamous Jecker bonds were anything more than a pretext, an excuse, for French intervention. He goes on to focus on the religious, idealistic, and commercial motives that were the real propellents. In the process, he reveals once again Napoleon III's well-known penchant for personal diplomacy, as well as the reasons for Anglo-Spanish withdrawal from further participation in 1862. His commentaries on the work of earlier scholars help to clarify the traditional controversies of interpretation, showing on which sources the various interpretations have been based. Bock seems to accept the tradition of Eugénie's considerable influence on Napoleon III in the affair, which I seriously doubt.

The book's length, however, is its most serious liability. Encyclopedic in detail, the work can appeal only to a few specialists. Granted that the text itself only comprises 427 pages, the book cannot be read satisfactorily without continual reference to the appendixes and notes in the rear, which comprise 339 more pages. The average modern European historian will likely limit himself to reading the brief conclusions and do little justice to Mr. Bock's great industry. Does this not suggest a misconception of the historian's literary obligations? We have a right to be assured that the author knows his sources, but surely we need not retrace the researcher's every step to obtain that faith.

University of California, Santa Barbara ROGER L. WILLIAMS

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STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY. Volume III, PAPERS READ AT THE THIRD WINTER AND SUMMER MEETINGS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY. Edited by *G. J. Cuming*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1966. Pp. viii, 289. 45 gls.)

Of the twenty-two essays printed in this volume the first six are substantial in length; those remaining are brief and could be described as "notes" or "suggestions." With few exceptions the essays deal with the ecclesiastical history of England, and most are concerned with the post-Reformation period. But this is still a very mixed bag; a reviewer can mention only a few essays and cannot be competent to comment on, even if he could link together, articles like Rosalind Hill's "Christianity and Geography in Early Northumbria" and the essays relating to more recent periods. The selection of essays for mention here must, therefore, be somewhat arbitrary.

Patrick Collinson's "Episcopacy and Reform in England in the Later Sixteenth Century" is especially interesting because of its description of the appearance in the English Church of elements of a "mixed polity" that might have allowed the Church to develop more closely in harmony with English society at large had not Whitgift, Bancroft, and, later, Laud altered the pattern of growth in a more purely episcopal and monarchical direction. David Newsome in an excellent and characteristically learned essay on Samuel Wilberforce warns against using "Soapy" as a synonym of "slippery"; his essay is a foretaste of his richer work, recently published, *The Wilberforces and Henry Manning*. In his essay on F. D. Maurice, Torben Christensen demonstrates that the widely repeated assertion derived from the official biography that Maurice's ideas were received with universal hostility by his contemporaries is not true. Christensen concludes by warning all students of the nineteenth century to be aware of the dangers of overreliance on the massive and inviting shelves of *Life and Letters*. J. W. Gray writes about the controversy between Stubbs and Maitland concerning the role of canon law in England in the Middle Ages; the subject could be most fruitful, but Gray's essay contributes too little to both the historical and historiographical aspects of it. Among the shorter essays G. V. Bennett's description of an unpublished diary of Archbishop Wake deserves mention. The diary was unavailable to Norman Sykes, and Bennett shows how the diary alters some of Sykes's conclusions.

But excellent as many of these essays are, the question remains: should such essays be gathered together in a book of this kind? If they were published in various historical journals, they would be noted in indexes and be more readily available to scholars now and in the future. Publication in this form could amount to an entombment.

Williams College Dudley W. R. Bahlman

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THE CHAPTER ACTS OF THE DEAN AND CANONS OF WINDSOR, 1430, 1523–1672. Edited by *Shelagh Bond*. With an introduction by *Maurice Bond*. [Historical Monographs relating to St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, Volume XIII.] ([Windsor: Oxley and Sons for the Dean and Canons of St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle.] 1966. Pp. lv, 363. 63*s*.)

THIS is a carefully annotated edition of all the decisions and acts of the dean and canons of Windsor between 1430 and 1672. Records survive, however, only for the years 1430, 1523–1548, 1592–1593, 1596–1642, 1660–1672. The acts, which are written in Latin and English, record business completed and decisions taken, rather than speeches or discussions. A splendid introduction, investigating all aspects of the development and early history of the chapter, is provided by Mr. Maurice Bond.

The Royal Free Chapel of Our Lady, St. George, and St. Edward was founded within Windsor Castle by Edward III in 1348 as a large-scale chantry dedicated to prayers for the royal family. It belonged to the small group of English medieval colleges known as "royal free chapels," but the collegiate chapter at Windsor enjoyed distinction as the chapel serving the Order of the Garter. It also enjoyed a quasi-cathedral status, exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that is, from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Salisbury, within whose diocese Windsor then was situated. The dean held a quasi-episcopal rank, and since he might be called in to act as domestic chaplain to the sovereign, he was in a position to exert political and religious influence.

In the years that passed between its foundation and the reign of Elizabeth I, the college grew considerably in size and wealth. Here lies the real importance of the book. The acts give an indication of the vast properties held by the chapter: advowsons, estates, gifts in twenty-one counties by the time of the Restoration. There is also important material here on the fabric of the chapel buildings, the organization and discipline of the chapter, the library holdings, and the changing theological views of the canons during the turbulent Reformation, Laudian, and Restoration periods. There are two valuable indexes: one of persons and places, the other of subjects. The Bonds have done their work well, and this important contribution to the collections of English medieval sources will be consulted by students in many areas.

University of Illinois BENNETT D. HILL

BEFORE THE ARMADA: THE EMERGENCE OF THE ENGLISH NATION, 1485–1588. By *R. B. Wernham*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1966. Pp. 447. $6.95.)

PROFESSOR Wernham's beautifully written book tells the story of the growth of English foreign policy in the years that separated the death of Richard III from the defeat of the Armada. In the space allowed me I can do little more than note its many virtues and state succinctly the points about which I remain unconvinced.

Perhaps other readers will be struck as much as I have been by the clear links established between England's shifting economic interests and its policy with re-

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gard to Valois and Habsburg. Professor Wernham has noted with great clarity the main stops and starts in England's growth as a nation living by trade and slowly becoming aware that its life was precarious as long as a potentially enemy power, Spain, distantly or closely controlled Antwerp, the chief market for English cloth and wool. The slow diplomatic revolution that saw Spain take France's place as the great enemy of England hardly seems separable from the cycle of trade expansions and contractions marking the years from about 1540 to 1580. I was repeatedly struck by how much importance must be attached to this rhythm rather than to the familiar one of the inevitable heating up of the cold war arising out of Henry VIII's divorce of a Spanish queen of England.

This, rather than the good, old-fashioned telling of diplomatic narrative, I would establish as the main value of this survey of Tudor diplomacy. I would stress Wernham's service in relating Elizabethan domestic politics to foreign policy as the other main strength of the book.

The work has several weaknesses. Just as the linking of Elizabethan politics to diplomacy, or the fitting together of the same elements for the reigns of Edward and Mary, constitutes the main advance of this work over earlier surveys, so Wernham's total failure to develop any concept of Henrician politics as a help in understanding early Tudor diplomacy is the chief weakness of a good narrative often in search of explanations. Rather monolithic (or dialogic) images uniting Henry to Wolsey or Cromwell are the main stock supporting the tale of English foreign policy between 1525 and 1540. This sometimes naïve approach to Tudor dynastic problems before 1558 is abetted by some rather baffling judgments: that the jilting of Princess Mary by Charles V in 1525 marked the great turning point of Henry VIII's reign; that the English Reformation was really chiefly caused by Henry VIII's battered plans for conquest, crusading glory, a general European peace, and the crisis of the succession.

Here diplomatic history becomes once again a handmaiden to constitutionalism and Whig history of a peculiar sort. It is Pollard brought up to date! The clearest example of this may be found on page 113, where an admittedly ambiguous reference to *istud benedictum divortium* (citation only to Constant, whose reference seems irrelevant) is made to mean that Henry intended to divorce Catherine in 1526, when taken in conjunction with the Colonna sack of the papal palace during September 1526. If the divorce ambiguously alluded to was in fact that of Henry VIII's sister, the Scottish Dowager Margaret Tudor, what happens to our case? The old-fashioned color of the treatment of Henry VIII has telltale marks in the notes, where Froude is more often cited than Elton, against whom Wernham draws the sword rather indirectly, and by the steady preference for Dietz over Richardson in matters of early Tudor finance.

My final opinion must be that the book is strongest where Wernham has made the Elizabethan documents his own life's work. It rings least true for both Henries, especially where the Reformation is subordinated to the story of Tudor foreign policy.

University of California, Los Angeles ARTHUR J. SLAVIN

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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES. By *G. W. O. Woodward.* [Blandford History Series, Problems of History.] (New York: Walker and Company. 1967. Pp. ix, 186. $5.95.)

THE results of recent research have done much to redeem Tudor monastic history from Cardinal Gasquet's warp and G. G. Coulton's woof. This readable and comforting compendium of current conclusions replaces the old polemics about the dissolution with several new and fresh points of view. Woodward's synthesis is straightforward, sound, succinct, and satisfactory for student and teacher. A judicious appraisal of the monasteries as "Property Owners," as welfare agencies, and as religious resorts precedes an analysis of the actual process of dissolution. The Henrician government's motives in suppressing monasteries were disparate; they varied from year to year, and Woodward remarks that only with the Scottish and French wars of 1542–1543 did "the real spate of sales" of monastic lands begin. A good many of his judgments, moreover, are negative and dispatch old myths: "commercially-minded rackrenting absentee landlords" did not form a new class; rewards to court favorites were few; the number of speculators in monastic property actually was small; most monastic lands went to the aristocracy and to the already landed gentry and yeomen; and their acquisitions hardly created a "vested interest in the reformation." Instead, "purchases made in good faith and paid for with good money" were what prevented the Marian Catholics from returning to monks and nuns "nationalised property."

Even before the dissolution, Lutheran ideas had reached some monks and friars, and there was, in the 1530's, a bona fide desire for rational reform and for the suppression of superstition. The campaign "against relics and pilgrimages," Woodward holds, "was embarked upon initially on its own merits," and its implicit assault upon purgatory and prayers for the dead served to complement the less lofty motives of the repressors. Cromwell gets credit for directing the operation efficiently, but many of his procedures, even his ideas, it seems, came from his master, Wolsey. The preambles to some statutes doubtless served as "government propaganda," but others, surely, were *pièces justificatives* of a new social philosophy and jurisprudence. The legal history of the dissolution is still unwritten, especially case studies of the law and processes used to suppress monasteries and to execute recalcitrant monks and abbots. Perhaps the strict legality of the Tudors will turn out to be no more than a synonym for tyranny under law.

Yale University WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE BISHOPS OF BATH AND WELLS, 1540–1640: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. By *Phyllis M. Hembry.* [University of London Historical Studies, Number 20.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1967. Pp. viii, 287. $8.00.)

DR. Hembry has written a sound, useful monograph on the social and economic consequences of the Reformation for the bishopric of Bath and Wells and for its bishops during the critical century, 1540–1640. On the basis of an exhaustive examination of surviving records, variously located in the Wells Cathedral Library,

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Wells Diocesan Registry, Somerset Record Office, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the Public Record Office, comprising Chapter Act Books, parish registers, *compoti,* land leases, fines, and other relevant manuscripts, she discerns a successful lay attack on the bishopric's resources, which resulted in a 55 per cent loss of income, without reference to price rise, by 1560. By that date eighteen of twenty-six episcopal manors were lost and the remaining eight heavily encumbered so that the Elizabethan and Stuart bishops, some of whom had families to support, were usually hard pressed. Though there was recovery in Stuart times when the bishopric under Bishop Peirs (1632–1670) was valued at £885, as opposed to a low of £533 in Elizabeth's reign, it never regained the 1539 value of £2,202. Thus, her work documents the conclusions of Christopher Hill in *Economic Problems of the Church: From Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (1956) about a Stuart revival and adds significantly to our knowledge of that sixteenth-century movement, first detected by Maitland and elaborated by Stone, in which episcopal, as well as monastic, properties were coveted by the state and the aristocracy.

Though the writer claims an examination of the "sociological consequences" of "a great act of nationalization [the Reformation] halted half-way, the confiscation of church wealth," her skills are not sociological but those of the local historian, family historian, and biographer. She relieves the necessary tedium of L.S.D. computations of lands and leases with an expert topographical re-creation of sixteenth-century Wells and penetrating character sketches, such as that of Bishop Peirs—"meticulous, orderly, a little mercenary. . . . an administrator with dogmatic ideas on doctrine." I somewhat regret that Hembry has not expanded her remarks on the worth of the see in relation to the price rise and that she has devoted but one-fifth of her account to the Stuart period, stopping short of an explanation of the troublesome 1640's. Perhaps she will deal with them in a future volume.

State University of New York, Buffalo MELVIN J. TUCKER

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. ELIZABETH I. Volume IV, 1566–1569. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1964. Pp. iv, 608. $37.80 postpaid.)

PUBLICATION of a new calendar of documents preserved in the Public Record Office is cause for rejoicing, for the distance between the calendared document and the researcher is shortened to a microfilm or microcard. Whether the historian "sees the tree as a whole, . . . takes the tree branch by branch," or, in the manner of Namier, "examines it leaf by leaf," the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* gives body, color, and shading to leaves, branches, and tree. For it is the official notices published under the Great Seal—royal appointments, charters, grants, licenses, leases, and pardons through which the day-to-day business of England and the Queen progressed—that provide the raw material for the economic, civil, social, cultural, and psychological insights sought by historians.

At the close of the first decade of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, what was the nature of the power and influence wielded by William Cecil, knight, councilor,

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principal secretary? Between November 17, 1566, and March 7, 1569, the time covered in this volume, the career administrator gained five grants or leases of lands, plus a pardon for alienation of land; he became an official, with attendant liberties and immunities, of the Mines Royal and the Society of the Mineral and Battery Works; he received authority to investigate and reform abuses at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; he witnessed the creation of Thomas Sackville, knight, as Baron of Buckhurst. The new decision makers accumulated land, and power continued to beget power.

As usual, this volume gives extensive summaries of the letters patent and is fully indexed by items (160 index pages for 445 pages of text). Helpful as the telescoping of distance between researcher and the documents in the Public Record Office is, it is sad that the price of the *Calendar,* as listed by the British Information Service, should be astronomical.

Valparaiso University ARTHUR P. KAUTZ

THE ELIZABETHAN PURITAN MOVEMENT. By *Patrick Collinson.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 527. $10.00.)

DR. Collinson has written a masterly and comprehensive history of Elizabethan puritanism. His command of the documentary sources is exhaustive. In this study he has re-examined them against the rich background of contributions made to Elizabethan historiography during the past several decades. Individuals may take exception to some of his specific conclusions, but the work, like Neale's parliamentary studies, must be considered basic to any further study of the period or the subject.

Collinson supports the thesis that for those Elizabethans, lay and clerical, to whom religion mattered deeply, the settlement of 1559 was provisional, with the final definition of Anglicanism yet to be determined. In this context the term "puritan" can properly be applied to anyone who stood at all to the left of the Queen herself. The fundamental concern of these men, Collinson believes, was not the vestments, the liturgy, or even polity and theology, but rather discipline in its broadest sense with its emphasis on the godly life, the failings of the antiquated episcopal judicial system, and the necessity for a learned ministry.

While Parker lived, the basic issues remained clouded, despite the vestiarian controversy and Cartwright's attack on episcopacy. In 1576 a broad program of reform was inaugurated by the new archbishop, Edmund Grindal. Collinson presents a detailed and convincing analysis of Grindal's program, of the role of the "prophesyings," and the fatal confrontation between Grindal and the Queen—fatal, that is, for Grindal and the cause of reform. From the point of view of the English Church it was the loss of a superb opportunity to direct the energies of its most devoted and loyal members toward a strong, more unified, though by no means necessarily narrower Church. But the Queen thought otherwise, and the harsh policies of Whitgift, if anything more royal than archiepiscopal, provoked a vigorous reaction culminating in the presbyterian campaign of the late 1580's.

Collinson does not believe that the presbyterian movement, as distinguished

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from the broader puritanism, presented as great a challenge as Whitgift and many since have assumed. He argues that the fundamental anticlericalism of the age was as suspicious of a strong presbytery as it was of a powerful episcopacy. Furthermore, he sees a weakness in the movement that would in time threaten its very existence. Presbyterianism, essentially dogmatic in polity as in doctrine, must gain authority in order to ensure the unity essential to its survival—else schism in its ranks and so, ironically, separatism.

For the first time it is possible to see a consistent pattern in the behavior of Elizabeth's privy councilors. The majority were not secular-minded opportunists, as they have usually been portrayed, but statesmen deeply concerned with the condition of the Church, sincere in their support of reform, questioning Parker's policies, vigorously supporting Grindal, and distressed if not repelled by Whitgift and Bancroft. But they knew the limits of opposition to the Queen. As Collinson has suggested before, Leicester played a far more positive role than we have assumed. A re-evaluation of his place in the history of the reign is clearly in order.

Collinson's careful and detailed notation of documentary materials will prove extremely useful, but, for a work that will be so extensively used for reference purposes, a formal bibliography would have been desirable.

Denison University W. M. Southgate

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION: A STUDY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN NORTH ENGLAND. By *Roger Howell, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 397. $10.10.)

"Correct your maps: Newcastle is Peru," a 1651 pamphleteer exulted, celebrating the renewed prosperity of the northern port. He would not have said so seven years earlier, when the town lay exhausted, wrecked by civil war and Scottish occupation, its coal trade ruined, its citizens starving and ravaged by plague. Howell's study is a perceptive and comprehensive analysis of the town's history during the period of crisis and recovery between 1640 and 1660, an example that deserves to be followed for other English cities.

In some ways Newcastle's crisis mirrored that of the nation; in others it was the product of peculiarly local problems. On the interaction of these local and national themes Howell's treatment could hardly be bettered. The struggle in Newcastle, Howell shows, was the culmination of a conflict, dating back to the 1590's, to broaden the governing oligarchy of Hostmen and Merchant Adventurers. The broadening process was not a social revolution, for the new men were of the same class as, and only marginally less wealthy than, their former rulers. Like the old "Inner Ring," the newcomers fought savagely in defense of the town's Tyne monopoly, effectively beating off challenges from dangerous interlopers like Ralph Gardner. In 1653 the monopoly was almost broken by action at Westminster, but the downfall of the Barebones reformers saved the day.

Newcastle is fortunate in the wealth of its local records. Howell combines mastery of these sources with judicious maturity of generalization, and he is particularly good on Newcastle Puritanism. He is perhaps too cautious in re-

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fusing to see in his evidence pressure for a swing to the left similar to that occurring in other towns after the war. In Newcastle the pressure was indeed frustrated, for the wealthy outsiders who might have provided the leadership were promptly absorbed by the oligarchy. But there are enough hints that the combustible material was there to explain a conservative corporation's retreat before radical pressure in October 1648. By adopting a revolutionary petition they preserved themselves from the fate of their London counterparts three months later.

The significance of this movement to the left may be debatable. There can be no two opinions, however, about the merit of Howell's achievement. Newcastle, like England at large, had its Puritan Revolution; it was not entirely Puritan, and as a revolution it proved abortive. In the end the "politiques," as Howell clearly shows, had the last word.

University of Virginia DAVID UNDERDOWN

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT DE L'ISLE, V. C., PRESERVED AT PENSHURST PLACE, KENT. Volume VI, SIDNEY PAPERS, 1626–1698. Edited, with an introduction, by *G. Dyfnallt Owen.* [Historical Manuscripts Commission, 77.] ([London:] H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1966. Pp. xxix, 768. $40.00 postpaid.)

THIS modern edition of the Sidney Papers concludes the series of six reports prepared for publication by the Historical Manuscripts Commission from the manuscripts that have been preserved at Penshurst Place. Essentially a calendar of correspondence of and concerning the Sidney family in the seventeenth century, it centers on Robert Sidney, second earl of Leicester, the soldier-diplomat who twice served as English ambassador during the Thirty Years' War, first to Denmark for a few months in 1632 and then to France in the years from 1636 to 1641. It covers many facets of Leicester's life, though the reader interested in the official dispatches that passed between him and his superiors in England will have to consult Arthur Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State* (1746), a scholarly work still available in large libraries. The omission seems somewhat surprising in view of the lucid essay on Leicester's diplomacy that opens the volume. But among the materials included, and now printed for the first time, are Leicester's journal of the Danish embassy and a wealth of letters that were written during the French embassy by Leicester, his wife, and a group actively engaged in promoting his interests. It included his sister-in-law, the much-admired Lady Carlisle; his solicitor William Hawkins, whose business letters also contained references to the course of English politics during the critical years of personal rule; and Sir John Temple, later master of the rolls in Ireland, who worked energetically at court for Leicester's advancement to a higher post. On his return to England the latter was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, but was dismissed before serving as a result of the pressures generated by the outbreak of civil war. This political retirement lasted until Leicester's death in 1677. Apparently his correspondence decidedly dwindled in these years, but he kept a second journal, this one for the years from 1646 to 1661, which is reprinted in an appendix.

Though the journal, based in the main on parliamentary records and other

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contemporary publications, provides only limited insight into Leicester's political opinions during this important period, this scholarly edition of the Sidney Papers, taken as a whole, is nevertheless a welcome addition to the printed sources of Stuart England.

Hunter College CORINNE COMSTOCK WESTON

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM STOUT OF LANCASTER, 1665–1752. Edited by *J. D. Marshall* for the William Stout Tercentenary Study Group. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. viii, 311. $9.00.)

THE complete text of the autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster was first published in 1851 by John Harland, the Lancashire journalist and antiquarian. The Harland edition was almost completely lacking in critical apparatus; that apparatus gives the present edition its importance. J. D. Marshall, with extensive collaboration from seven other scholars and archivists, has now provided a long critical introduction, extensive notes, four appendixes, a genealogy, maps, and a full index, and has restored the original spelling of the text.

William Stout (1665–1752), a convert to the Society of Friends and one of its principal officers in Lancaster, was a wholesale and retail grocer and ironmonger engaged in the medium range of Lancastrian foreign and domestic trade. Marshall, in his portion of the introduction, offers interesting observations on the relationship between Stout's religious and economic interests; in a more important section of the introduction R. Craig and M. M. Schofield attempt to reconstruct the nature and pattern of trade as it developed in Lancaster during Stout's lifetime, and their discussion is in part supported by statistical appendixes. Much painstaking research has gone into this volume, but it should be emphasized that the introduction, notes, and appendixes, useful as they are in establishing Stout's general honesty and accuracy as an observer, cannot be said to have established the reliability of the broader social or economic patterns suggested by the autobiography. The research in national and local manuscript records is far from being complete, as the editors themselves repeatedly point out. Their interpretations must therefore remain tentative, and their essays and comments are thus principally valuable in suggesting lines for future research and in intimating the range of difficulties that might be expected.

This volume, then, is likely to have increasing importance in British social and economic history, but principally for specialists. What is most important, the editors have made available in a fine critical edition a document that could infuse life into the analyses of a modern economic and sociological study of Lancashire on the eve of the Industrial Revolution.

Duke University DONALD E. GINTER

JOHN HARRISON: THE MAN WHO FOUND LONGITUDE. By *Humphrey Quill*. With a foreword by *Sir Richard Wooley*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 255. $10.00.)

THE precise determination of a ship's position at sea was a problem that plagued scientists and practical men until John Harrison's invention of a workable

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marine chronometer in the mid-eighteenth century. The latitude of a ship at sea is easily determined by simple astronomical measurements of celestial altitudes. But, owing to the earth's rotation, the longitude of a ship bears no direct relationship to these measurable altitudes. It was known since 1530 that what was required was a way of comparing local time (at sea) with some standard time as, for example, that at Greenwich. Local time can be ascertained with a sextant; the problem of fixing Greenwich time remained a difficult one.

Humphrey Quill has attempted to supply what has been lacking: a full biography of the man who solved the longitude problem through his invention of a seaworthy chronometer. The book is largely concerned with the technical story of the perfection of Harrison's four clocks and with his arduous attempts to collect the handsome prize money offered by the British crown. Quill's book does not substantially alter the standard views of Harrison and his mechanisms, but it admirably fills in many of the obscure and forgotten details of the story. Digging deeply into the available sources, Quill presents the reader with most of the relevant bibliography and manuscript material.

The author's strengths are his lucid style and gift for technical exposition. The book's most serious flaws are the rather flat portrayal of Harrison the man and the paucity of truly historical evaluation of the narrative. The book is well bound and handsomely illustrated; it will be of greater interest to clock fanciers and historians of technology than to historians with other concerns.

Johns Hopkins University ROBERT H. KARGON

WHIG ORGANIZATION IN THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1790: SELECTIONS FROM THE BLAIR ADAM PAPERS. Edited by *Donald E. Ginter*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. lx, 276. $8.00.)

THE late Professor Richard Pares believed that his interpretation of Georgian politics would be changed rather by the changing views of historians than by the discovery of hitherto unused documents. The unexpected always happens. Professor Ginter has delved deeply into the papers of William Adam, "the most important man of business within the Portland and Foxite Oppositions during the last two decades of the eighteenth century"; and with selections from these documents Ginter offers a revised interpretation of the history of party. The main thrust of his thesis may be summarized thus:

The "most essential attribute" of modern political parties is "outward orientation," which "manifests itself normally in commitment to ideology and in organization." The personal political groupings of the mid-eighteenth century possessed neither of these characteristics. During the closing years of the American war the opposition began to develop "the organizational dimension." William Adam, a vigorous Scots attorney, became the manager of the Fox-North coalition for the general election of 1784, and under the direction of Portland, the true leader of the party, Adam expanded his activities for the general election of 1790. The new organization established a headquarters in London, found seats for candidates and candidates for seats, distributed literature and influenced the press,

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and, most important of all, collected and disbursed party funds. The beginnings were crude but significant enough to establish the 1780's as "the first important phase in the development of modern party." The achievements of "the second important phase" in the 1830's were the extension and more intensive application of the organizational techniques developed during the first.

The selections, which Ginter has edited in the most illuminating scholarly style, sustain his thesis well. Though the evidence is fragmentary, Portland and Adam are to be clearly discerned as leader and manager of a rudimentary but resourceful political machine. To a disgruntled candidate who based a claim on personal grounds Adam wrote in 1784, "I am Not disposing of what is my Own, I am only indeavouring to the best of my power to assist in the regulation of what may fall within the power of others to dispose of." This he did to the satisfaction of the steady, cautious, realistic Duke, who operated on the principle that "Candour is a very pernicious ingredient in the composition of any party man, & ought to be used with the greatest circumspection." Opposition lost thirty-six seats in the election of 1790, but only its organization prevented a disaster as bad as that of 1784.

It is hoped that further research will fill up gaps in the evidence, but, as it stands, historians of party must now take full account of Ginter's carefully presented thesis.

Yale University ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

PROFESSIONAL MEN: THE RISE OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *W. J. Reader.* (New York: Basic Books. 1966. Pp. 248. $6.50.)

As historians are beginning to refine their approach to the social history of Victorian England, it is becoming more apparent that one of the topics to which they must pay much attention is the rise of the professions. For in some ways that rise is as significant a part of the general advance of the middle class during the nineteenth century as any or all of the Reform Bills.

Mr. Reader is a pioneer in this field, and he has written a very useful and readable book. He begins by depicting the situation in the eighteenth century, the era of interest and patronage, when the Church, law, and medicine constituted the sole respectable professions, with the added proviso that curates, solicitors, and surgeons were not held to be part of the exclusive group of liberally educated gentlemen who were truly considered acceptable by society.

It was not surprising that pressure for change should come from below and should generally have been resisted by those securely settled at the top. It was the despised apothecaries and attorneys who agitated, in the end successfully, for the establishment of standards, improved professional education (the old apprenticeship system no longer being adequate), and qualifying examinations. In the expanding society of nineteenth-century England, under the impact of industrialism, both numbers of people and differentiation of functions increased. Efficiency became a necessity.

Thus the opening of the civil service to competition, as well as the abolition of

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purchase of army commissions, went hand in hand with the gradual establishment of professional organizations that excluded incompetents and administered tests for qualification. And new professions, such as engineering, emerged.

Yet English society did not accommodate itself as readily as it might have or should have to its new professional needs, especially in science and technology. Why? Reader makes a persuasive case to the effect that it was education, both at the secondary and at the university level, that lagged disastrously behind. Because of a general suspicion of excessive state intervention, a national system of secondary education had to wait until this century. Meanwhile, the old tradition of the liberally educated gentleman died hard (has it died yet?), and the Public Schools as well as Oxbridge were hostile to new subject matter and to opening their ranks. Furthermore, the professional classes themselves, having become established, kept hankering after the gentlemanly ideal, and, ironically enough, often resisted rather than furthered needed changes.

Reader has made a good beginning. Now it is time for the subject to be studied in depth and in detail.

Harvard University JOHN CLIVE

POLLBOOKS: HOW VICTORIANS VOTED. By *J. R. Vincent.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 193. $10.00.)

UNTIL the adoption of the secret ballot in 1872, English voters declared their choices publicly. And, after most contested elections in many constituencies lists were published showing, for each voter, how he voted, usually his place of residence, and frequently his occupation. Only recently have historians begun to use these pollbooks systematically. Indeed, for many readers Dr. Vincent's book will be important not only for what he has to say about the possible meanings of this evidence but for revealing its very existence. And obviously Vincent is aware of his dual role. By far the largest part of his book consists of raw data drawn from some two hundred pollbooks of which, as he notes in his preface, no use has been made in his three short analytical chapters but "which might form a starting-point and source for others more acquainted with particular problems and localities."

With one or two exceptions these data bear upon the relationship—or rather the lack of relationship—between voting behavior and class membership. They show, for example, that laborers were divided in their political allegiance, that pilots, chimney sweeps, and butchers tended to be Tory, and shoemakers and grocers Liberal. From these and other comparable data he concludes that "Class as stratum, . . . class in the colloquial sense, cannot really be used to describe voting patterns, or to explain them." Having studied pollbooks myself, I fully agree. I have, however, some doubt—and my doubt is re-enforced by various studies of the local systems of social status in Britain today—about the premise that underlies his general discussion of this evidence: that "the reasons for which people voted in groups locally cannot be understood at any level below their understanding of the structure of the national society, and their sense of belonging without local mediation to a collectivity acting directly in relation to that structure."

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Vincent notes, and the same point was made in his first book, *The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857–1868,* "the immense importance of religious denomination for political and indeed for every kind of behaviour." But he balked at the difficulties of trying to relate "party preference among the laity to religious denomination." He is right that "there is no royal road here as there is with occupations." Since the results would have borne on his basic premise concerning the lack of local mediation, however, it might have been worth the trouble to test the political ramifications both of religious and other varieties of immediate nonclass nexus.

University of California, Los Angeles D. C. Moore

RUSSELL'S DESPATCHES FROM THE CRIMEA, 1854–1856. By *William Howard Russell.* Edited with an introduction by *Nicolas Bentley.* (New York: Hill and Wang. 1967. Pp. 286. $7.50.)

An irreverent modern would say that Sir William Howard Russell got a lot of mileage out of his Crimean War dispatches to the London *Times.* As published in the newspaper they attracted wide attention and contributed to the defeat of Lord Aberdeen's government. They were republished almost at once, very little edited, in two volumes entitled *The War.* In 1858 Russell published *The British Expedition to the Crimea,* a history based on the dispatches, now, however, greatly rewritten. A new edition, again considerably revised, appeared in 1877.

Students should be warned that Mr. Bentley's volume is not the letters from the Crimea that shook London breakfast tables first and the House of Commons afterward. It is a cavalierly edited version of Russell's 1858 book. Bentley has gone through Russell's text, excising sometimes long passages, sometimes a few sentences, sometimes a single phrase or word, but, except where he has replaced part of the text with an indented summary of his own, never giving any intimation of these omissions to the reader. Two examples may illustrate the book's nature and its relationship to the actual dispatches. The original letter on the Alma battle (*Times,* October 10, 1854) credits Lord Raglan's "sagacity and military skill" with a decisive influence on the victory. The 1858 volume substitutes for this a scathing attack on Raglan's competence. Bentley omits about half of this without indicating that he has done so. On the most famous phrase Russell ever coined, written about the Ninety-third Highlanders at Balaklava, the editor does not do well. He prints Russell's words of 1858 (and 1854), "that thin red streak tipped with a line of steel," and explains in a footnote that these, "later misquoted," were the origin of the phrase "the thin red line." He evidently does not know that in the 1877 edition Russell himself changed the words to read, "that *thin red line tipped with steel.*" For the general reader the book may help to explain why Russell is regarded as the first modern war correspondent, and still one of the best. But from a scholarly viewpoint the whole performance is unfortunate.

University of Toronto C. P. Stacey

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THE VISION AND THE NEED: LATE VICTORIAN IMPERIALIST AIMS. By *Richard Faber*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. 150. $5.00.)

RICHARD Faber's *The Vision and the Need* is a well-written essay that enables the reader to gain a keener understanding of some of the motivation behind *fin-de-siècle* British imperialism. Faber sums up, in interesting if not especially revealing sketches, the "politicians," "proconsuls," and "prophets" of the heyday of Empire; he is most successful in his portrait of Rudyard Kipling, whom he regards as the archetype of the "new imperialism." In Kipling, Faber finds clearly articulated that "political Calvinism," derived from Carlyle, that urged the acceptance of the imperial burden "primarily because of the sacrifices and responsibilities it imposed on the rulers, because of the moral qualities it drew forth from them." This "sense of imperial vocation," a "sense of duty," was the mainspring in the behavior of these imperialists, Faber maintains, entirely rejecting the importance of an economic motive.

Faber conscientiously sets forth six "fundamental" motives for imperial expansion—colonizing, economic, aggressive, strategic, missionary, and leadership—and seeks to determine the combinations in which they have been present in the Athenian, Roman, French, and British Empires. As might be expected, the first three empires receive only the most cursory consideration and, thus, are not credited with the complexity of motivation that Faber finds only in the last, a simplification particularly damaging to his picture of the Roman Empire. Nor can a student of late Victorian attitudes toward empire dismiss in a brief footnote the effects of the Irish question, which entirely altered the shape of British politics during this time, upon British imperial opinion. On the other hand, Faber does appreciate the importance of the classical curriculum of the Public Schools in the shaping of imperial attitudes, and India's role in shaping the imperial psyche is quite properly stressed.

In the future, Faber, like Kipling, sees the possibility of an international civil service, governing both advanced and less developed countries, inspired by ideals akin to those which inspired the colonial servants of the Queen in the 1890's. Out of late Victorian imperialism, Faber tells us—and this is his apologia—may come a future cosmopolitan world order. While the book is not, and therefore cannot be judged as, a scholarly contribution to the solution of the problems that beset historians of imperialism, it is an intelligently conceived essay which on occasion offers insights of a high order.

State University of New York, Stony Brook BERNARD SEMMEL

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND LIBERAL REUNION: THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE OF 1887. By *Michael Hurst*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 407. $10.50.)

NUMEROUS memoirs, biographies, period studies, and articles in learned journals have dealt with the futile efforts to heal the Liberal party schisms resulting from W. E. Gladstone's 1886 Irish Home Rule Bill, but Michael Hurst's book is the first full-length monograph to deal with this subject. Hurst is an Oxford tutor who has

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previously written on late nineteenth-century Midland politics. He is obviously well qualified to portray the leading personalities and to delineate and analyze the tortuous national party struggles of the period.

Following Gladstone's defeat in the House of Commons—and subsequently by the electorate—over the Irish issue, the main body of Liberal dissentients, Lord Hartington's Whig Unionists, had relatively little difficulty cooperating with the standpat Salisbury government. The situation was much more precarious for Joseph Chamberlain and his small group of Radical Unionists who were committed to a policy of domestic and Irish reforms, and the sudden resignation in December of the Tory Democrat Lord Randolph Churchill, Chamberlain's sole friend and ally in the cabinet, created for him a seemingly intolerable situation. He immediately extended an olive branch to his former Liberal colleagues, and formal discussions for reunion were begun three weeks later at the Round Table Conference. Three separate rounds of private talks were held during January and February, and agreement seemed imminent on most of the disputed points. Then Chamberlain precipitated another crisis by two bitter public attacks on Gladstone and the Irish Nationalists.

Hurst, like other writers on this problem, casts some blame for Chamberlain's new reversal on the continuing manifestations of hostility on the part of the militant Home Rulers. But he demonstrates conclusively that the primary responsibility for wrecking the Round Table Conference rests with Chamberlain himself. The Radical leader, it appears, had never intended to abandon unionism and was engaged in a clever "foxing" operation. He had initiated the negotiations to appease his restless Birmingham constituents, to undermine the GOM's position with the moderate Liberals, and to extort reforms from the Salisbury government. Chamberlain was later to be displeased with some of Salisbury's Irish policies, but, as Hurst says, "His future lay with the Conservatives whether he liked it or not—that is unless he caved in over Home Rule or fled the political field."

This solid, scholarly study is based on exhaustive research in a wide variety of manuscript and published sources. It will undoubtedly long remain the definitive work on the subject. The narrow microscopic focus and diffuse style will, regrettably, limit its appeal mainly to specialists in the field.

Rutgers University SYDNEY H. ZEBEL

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BERTRAND RUSSELL, 1872–1914. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1967. Pp. 356. $7.95.)

THIS book provides a self-portrait of one of the century's towering intellects during its most creative period. Russell's heredity drew directly on two lines, both of which combined intellectual talents with a measure of eccentricity. His father was the son of Lord John Russell, and his mother one of the Stanleys of Alderley, a gifted and moderately unconventional family. Both died in his infancy, and young Russell was subjected to a rearing by his paternal grandmother, who discharged her duties not without sympathy but utterly without understanding of the lonely, timid boy. From the Russells, he thought, came "shyness, sensitiveness, and metaphysics," and from the Stanleys "vigour, good health, and good

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spirits." These strains blended into an awesome, if sometimes mystifying, amalgam.

Three passions, Russell tells us on the opening page, have been dominant in his life: "the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind." His first quest yielded a marriage with Alys Pearsall Smith, an odd affair, which began to break up when "I went out bicycling one afternoon, and suddenly, as I was riding along a country road, I realized that I no longer loved Alys." After Alys, there was the long and complicated romance with Lady Ottoline Morrell, sister of the Duke of Portland, and a number of ephemeral liaisons. Was Russell's pervasive anti-Americanism a consequence of his first marriage? Only in part, I think. But, in any case, there are entertaining (and malicious) comments on the Pearsall Smith clan, Philadelphia Quakerdom, the Harvard philosophy department, and the timidity and religiosity of American society.

Russell's chronicle of his "search for knowledge" has less substance than one might have hoped for, though admittedly detail on, say, the *Principia* would have been lost on most of his readers. When he first encountered Euclid at the age of eleven, this was "one of the great events of my life, as dazzling as first love." His career as a mind really began, however, when he went up to Cambridge in 1890. At Trinity—or a few steps away at King's—were to be found such lights as Whitehead, G. E. Moore, McTaggart, Lowes Dickinson, assorted Trevelyans, and others, and Russell is brilliantly illuminating on all of them. The shy, self-distrustful young man flowered at Cambridge. Indeed, until the First World War, Cambridge was "the only place on earth that I could regard as home."

For all its fascination, however, the autobiography is not completely satisfying. On some subjects it says too little, on others too much, though always in impeccable, sensitive prose. Some of the letters, over 150 pages of them, at the ends of chapters are revealing enough; others, to be candid, seem not much more than filler. But sometimes one catches a glimpse of a lonely, unsure Russell, deeply compassionate and with a profound sense of the tragedy of the human condition, as when he writes to Lowes Dickinson: "We stand on the shore of an ocean, crying to the night and the emptiness; sometimes a voice answers out of the darkness. But it is the voice of one drowning; and in a moment the silence returns."

Harvard University DAVID OWEN

BRITAIN AND THE OLD DOMINIONS. By *J. D. B. Miller.* [Britain in the World Today.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. Pp. 286. $6.50.)

THIS excellent book offers the best justification I have encountered for the continuous outpouring of summary treatments of contemporary events, most of them written without much perspective. It is, like the others, founded on secondary works and printed documents, but it has a definite point of view and a feeling for the movement and change of the times we live in. The narrative chapters stretch from 1918 to 1965 and deal with the problems of status, foreign policy, defense, and economic relations. There is a delightful description of the early years of the British Commonwealth when the High Commissioners from the four

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Dominions met almost daily with the Dominions Secretary, Lord Cranbourne, who "dispensed tea and cakes while his secretary read out the reports." In those days, Miller tells us, "Commonwealth affairs remained wrapped in a cocoon of theory, from which would emerge from time to time the formidable voice of Professor Berriedale Keith." The period was not of long duration, and the great merit of Miller is that, perhaps because he is Australian, he has freed himself from the haze of sentimentality with which the words "Empire," "British Commonwealth," and "Dominion status" are still invested for most Englishmen and for many Canadians and New Zealanders. The effect of this book is to emphasize how unreal many of the concepts lying behind these words proved to be.

One possible criticism is that Miller does not understand the nature of the changes in French Canada that alone explain the present confused state of Canadian politics on which he comments. To say that the insults offered to Queen Elizabeth during her visit to Quebec in 1964 "were presumably [a protest] against the lack of opportunities for French Canadians in Canada itself" is nonsense. It would be nearer the truth to say that it was a belated protest against the victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham. After more than a century of placid acceptance of their status as British subjects to whom the retention of their laws, their language, and their church establishment had been irrevocably guaranteed, *les Canadiens* have invented a new version of their past, which represents that under the French regime the province had advanced to a high state of culture and diversified economy that was crushed and destroyed by the British conquerors. There is not much factual basis for this new view of Canadian history, but neither was there much justification for the nationalist tradition of many European peoples like the Czechs. Miller's treatment of the Afrikaner movement, founded as it is on a more extensive secondary literature, is good. But I would suggest that in all histories of the second British Empire the concept of nationalism should be analyzed and divided into different categories so that the difference between separatism, states' rights, and more profound movements like Sinn Fein would stand out clearly.

Bryn Mawr College HELEN TAFT MANNING

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919–1939. Series IA, Volume I, THE AFTERMATH OF LOCARNO, 1925–1926. Edited by *W. N. Medlicott et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1966. Pp. lxxiii, 881. $21.00.)

THIS is the first volume in the new "Series IA," covering the period 1925–1929, introduced to accelerate the publication of the British documents. The book is arranged in five chapters, the first four covering the period from the initialing of the Locarno Agreements on October 16, 1925, to the eve of the first meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference on May 17, 1926. The fifth chapter surveys British policy in the Middle East, chiefly the restoration of Anglo-Turkish relations through agreement on the frontier between Turkey and British-dominated Iraq.

The editors' task was complicated by a former procedure, now happily ended,

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of destroying documents with little care and less intelligence to facilitate their storage in the Public Record Office. The editors have, nevertheless, assembled a collection rich in materials illuminating British foreign policy. In studying the German problem, it will be indispensable.

Here is a record of British disillusionment as it became apparent that the Germans sought to exploit the Locarno Agreements to extract concessions from the Allies. With the signing of the agreements, the Foreign Office hoped the armistice would be turned into a real peace. Such a pleasant illusion vanished as Whitehall discovered that Berlin intended using Locarno to bargain for concessions. Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, acknowledged that "our policy was one of appeasement," but found his triumph turning bitter when the Germans proved uncooperative.

In negotiating German entry into the League of Nations, delay developed because the Germans demanded a permanent membership on the Council of the League before joining and rejected additional changes in the make-up of the League Council when other states applied for membership. The negotiation of an air agreement, in which Britain and France sought to prevent the expansion of German aviation, strained Anglo-German relations.

The news of a German-Soviet agreement, the Treaty of Berlin, on April 24, 1926, shocked Western diplomats. Chamberlain, fearing lest Germany draw closer to Russia, accepted the agreement, calmed other statesmen, and labored to bring Germany within the League.

The collection also includes interesting materials on disarmament, Allied occupation of Germany, Italian foreign policy, Anglo-Russian relations, and the growth of the feeling for *Anschluss* in Austria. Reparations were not included because this question was handled by the Treasury.

Queens College KEITH EUBANK

BRITAIN AND THE RISE OF COMMUNIST CHINA: A STUDY OF BRITISH ATTITUDES, 1945–1954. By *Brian Porter*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 195. $5.60.)

THE subtitle accurately describes this book. It is not diplomatic history, but a study of the politically diverse British views of Chinese Communism during the five years before and the five years after its triumphant establishment as the government of the mainland. The author, a British teacher of international relations, organizes British opinions according to topics that fall in a roughly chronological order: the 1945–1949 rise of Chinese Communism, the recognition question especially of 1949–1950, the Chinese seat in the United Nations, the Formosa problem, the several phases of the Korean War, and the 1954 Indochina crisis. In relation to each of these topics and so for each period in which the topic commanded attention, Porter tells us how Communist China was perceived by various British political groups. His sources are parliamentary debates, governmental statements, newspapers, magazines, and Gallup polls (forty-eight of them reprinted in an appendix).

The author succeeds in distinguishing the generally British, as opposed to the American, response to Communist China and in explaining the difference

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without invidiousness. He also analyzes temperately the difference between the international idealism of the Liberal-Radical perception of Communist China and the national power politics of the Tory perception. More notable, however, is a short-run historical hindsight not emphasized by the author. Both sets of perceptions now appear to share an erroneous estimate of the relative danger posed by Communist China. The Liberal-Radical who saw Communist China as an agrarian democracy and the Tory realist who saw its menace stemming from an actual or potential junior partnership with the Soviet Union are both a long way from the world of the 1960's when Communist China appears dangerous because it is an independent force more revolutionary than the Soviet Union.

University of Wisconsin LEON D. EPSTEIN

LE PARTI TRAVAILLISTE ET LA DÉCOLONISATION DE L'INDE. By *Georges Fischer.* [Bibliothèque socialiste, Number 9.] (Paris: François Maspero. 1966. Pp. 341. 24 fr.)

THIS difficult and exhaustive treatise, with its rigid schema, its abstruse terminology, and somewhat ponderous methodology, will in all likelihood attract few readers. Such a prospect is regrettable, for Professor Fischer's analysis of Labour's role in "decolonizing" India appears at a time when the gulf between advanced and underdeveloped societies has enhanced our need to understand and tame the forces of imperialism. Although his theme, the relations of metropolis and dependency, no longer preoccupies those powers whose empires vanished after World War II, nevertheless, many tensions generated in that context still convulse the Afro-Asiatic world.

British Labour, a late arrival on the political stage, had no hand in shaping dependent India. As the party burgeoned in the twentieth century, its spokesmen adopted certain cardinal assumptions regarding India, borrowing freely from Liberal Imperialists, from the Fabians and trade-unionism. According to Fischer they held that Labour was the appropriate guardian of India's destiny, that Britain must impose its own institutions on its Asiatic dependency, and, above all, that political reform must be introduced piecemeal out of regard for Fabian gradualism ("progression par étapes") and India's political immaturity.

Fischer exposes the fallacies, contradictions, and ambiguities in Labour's attitudes toward India, on the one hand, and its policies when in opposition or in power, on the other. Despite Labourites' reiterated concern for India's welfare, he finds no appreciable difference between Labour and the British ministry with respect to the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals or their sequel, the 1919 Government of India Act. Labour accepted dyarchy, recommending it to Indian politicians as a major step toward dominion status, blissfully ignoring its unworkability. Neither the first nor second Labour ministries showed any capacity for solving the Indian problem. MacDonald (Churchill's "boneless wonder"), who shared a Labourite predilection for organisms, mechanisms, and *expertise,* gravely alienated Indian opinion by appointing a purely British investigatory body (the Simon Commission), and then compounded his folly by inviting Indian participation in a series of London round-table conferences, where debate over pending legislation to replace dyarchy only exacerbated Indian factionalism.

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Committed to constitutionalism, parliamentarism, socialism, and self-government, British Labour was disoriented by Indian nationalism which it both misunderstood and feared, seeing in the Congress a party dominated by Indian capitalists, an alien mass movement whose aims would destroy the Commonwealth, that very institution on which Labour henceforth pinned its loftiest hopes. Labour never resolved these and many other ambiguities in its attitudes toward India. In the end, ironically, it was a Labourite rather than a Conservative government that had to preside over the liquidation of empire in India.

College of William and Mary BRUCE T. MCCULLY

THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH NEWSPAPER, 1685–1760. By *Robert Munter*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 217. $11.50.)

THIS book provides a detailed study of the Irish periodical press from its earliest beginnings until its form and structure had evolved and it was an accepted part of life in Dublin. It describes the mechanics of newspaper production and distribution in Ireland and analyzes the content of the newspapers. Eighteenth-century Irish periodical literature dates from the time of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. It relied upon the Protestant population for its reading public, resulting in most newspapers being published in Dublin rather than as a provincial press for Gaelic-speaking Catholics.

Dr. Munter discusses the development of the printing and bookselling trades in Ireland during the seventeenth century. He carefully traces the first attempts to publish newspapers and describes their nature. The stationers' guild did not bring the early newspaper press within its control. Instead, the distinct group feeling that existed was fostered by family and apprenticeship relationships that developed. The professional journalist grew in importance and prestige aside from the Irish stationer, but was still a member of an intimate circle of Irish printing houses, coffeehouses, bookshops, and families. The author also examines many other aspects of newspaper production. A dynamic change occurred when advertising became the chief source of revenue. The advertisement was the catalyst that changed the business from a part-time effort to a highly organized undertaking. The circulation and distribution of newspapers, based upon available information, are carefully presented. As the number of readers increased, the publisher adopted a more critical approach to newspaper content. The range of subjects increased during the period as better news coverage, literature, informative articles on various subjects, and political comments were included and expanded.

The author has covered his subject well, providing the most adequate account of early Irish newspapers yet written. Extensive use of extant copies, as well as other sources, has uncovered many details on his subject. This becomes, therefore, an important book for bibliographers, historians of Ireland, eighteenth-century politics, journalism, and the press, and social historians interested in such matters as the growth of literacy, the reading public, and popular taste in literature.

Arlington, Virginia HOMER L. CALKIN

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LA CONJURATION DE FIESQUE. By *Cardinal de Retz*. Édition critique publiée d'après le texte de 1665 avec des variantes provenant de manuscrits inédits par *D. A. Watts*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxiv, 121. $6.10.)

Mr. Watts has gone far toward resolving certain problems surrounding the composition and publication of Retz's history of the Fieschi conspiracy against the Dorias in 1547. In his *Mémoires* the cardinal stated that he had written the *Conjuration* at the age of eighteen. This would be 1631–1632. Retz added that the message of the work was not lost upon Richelieu, who called its precocious author a "dangereux esprit." A glance at one of the most recent and authoritative histories of French literature, the Bédier-Hazard study (1948), reveals that the celebrated *Frondeur* still is taken at his word.

Watts is not so certain that he ought to be. Using the *Mémoires* of Mme. de Nemours and an important letter of Chapelain, and reconstructing elements of Retz's voyage to Italy in 1638, he demonstrates the likelihood that the *Conjuration* actually was written the following year. During his stay in Rome, Retz most likely was inspired by Mascardi's history of the conspiracy, as translated by Bouchard.

Watts's choice of the 1665 Paris edition of the *Conjuration* as his *texte de base* is a sound one. Certainly the 1682 version is preferable on literary grounds, and it is a more scholarly document than its predecessor, but this does not make it more authentic. Indeed, if doubts remain concerning Retz's direct participation in the publication of the 1665 edition, his death in 1679 makes it highly unlikely that he had anything at all to do with the later one. Nineteenth-century editors comprehended this basic fact. It is a little unnerving that those responsible for the important Pléiade edition of Retz's works in 1956 chose to ignore it.

Watts's edition is further enhanced by the inclusion of variants contained in the 1665 Cologne version. Furthermore, an appendix lists those variants which exist in the three manuscripts housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the one located in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. I have not had the opportunity to study the manuscripts, but the care with which Watts cites and compares them lends further weight to the belief that we now possess the definitive edition of the *Conjuration*.

University of Oregon Raymond Birn

QUESTIONS FINANCIÈRES AUX XVIII^e ET XIX^e SIÈCLES. By *Christian Morrisson* and *Robert Goffin*. Prefaces by *Jean Lhomme* and *Robert Besnier*. [Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences économiques de Paris. Series "Sciences économiques," Number 2.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. viii, 152. 12 fr.)

This badly named book contains two essays with nothing in common except that both are focused on the history of French economic growth. The first, by Morrisson, is a thesis on the economic thought of François Véron de Forbonnais (1722–1800). This is followed by Goffin's *mémoire pour le diplôme d'études supérieures* on French securities investments from 1873 to 1913. Both will be read with profit.

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According to Morrisson, Forbonnais was one of the last mercantilists, an empiricist and eclectic who brought into French economic thought the ideas of English mercantilists like Hobbes and Petty. Although his theory was at certain points ambiguous and incomplete, Forbonnais saw the obstacles to French economic growth in a realistic way. In general he believed that the one-way flow of rents and taxes to Paris, Versailles, and other cities left the provinces without means for improving transport, commercializing agriculture, or increasing its productivity. Capital accumulation, he thought, was undermined by a concentration of income in the hands of landowners who, instead of investing it in industrial or agricultural growth, spent it on luxury goods and services or hoarded it to buy offices.

In order to correct this, Forbonnais proposed a fiscal overhaul. For the existing indirect taxes, which fell disastrously upon the poor, he wanted to substitute a set of "progressive" taxes on consumer goods. Necessities, bought by the masses, would be taxed lightly, but luxury goods would be taxed heavily, and there would be taxes on servants and other manifestations of sumptuary spending. This reform, Forbonnais thought, would build up mass purchasing power, encourage investments in agricultural improvements and low-quality, high-production industries, and make money more abundant in the countryside. Although his fiscal program differed from that of the physiocrats, who preferred to tax income from land, Forbonnais was at one with them in wishing to tax the private wealth that was being put to sterile uses in the towns and shift the fiscal burdens from the productive classes. There was, therefore, a direct continuity between his ideas and theirs.

This study by Morrisson is an excellent discussion not only of Forbonnais's ideas but also of his place in economic thought and the relation of his ideas to the economy of the old regime. In a stimulating way it raises some of the fundamental problems of that economy and relates them to recent studies of economic growth before the Revolution.

Goffin analyzes old and new statistics on the Bourse and finds that the period 1873 to 1913 was a golden age of investment in *valeurs mobilières,* that the returns on these investments were good, and that never before and rarely afterward did so high a percentage of income paid out in France represent income on investments in stocks and bonds. According to one estimate, about four-fifths of all French families owned securities marketed on the Bourse, although it is true that half of them possessed only 5 per cent of the total value. Yet, in spite of this striking propensity to invest in securities, less than half the private capital committed to new issues went to French enterprises, while 18 per cent went to foreign enterprises and 29 per cent to foreign governments, notably Russia. Since French enterprises raised 70 per cent of their capital on the Bourse, the new investment in productive capacity was clearly inadequate for national economic growth. French chemical, metallurgical, and electric construction industries were financed increasingly by Germans, Belgians, and Swiss. For this situation Goffin offers a number of interesting and plausible explanations.

University of North Carolina GEORGE V. TAYLOR

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L'ADOPTION DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ COMME RÉGIME LÉGAL DANS LE CODE CIVIL. By *Jacqueline Brisset.* Preface by *Pierre-Clément Timbal.* [Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences économiques de Paris. Series "Droit privé," Number 3.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. viii, 90. 8 fr.)

THE general curve of legislative proposals of the French Revolution and Napoleon with respect to marriage has been known since Philippe Sagnac's *La Législation civile de la Révolution française* (1898). In her intense, meticulous study, Miss Jacqueline Brisset tells the story again, fills in details, corrects prior authorities at several points, and describes the reception of the provisions of the Civil Code (1804) on the subject.

Under the old regime in the region of written (Roman) law and in Normandy, the law of dowry prevailed. In the region of customary codes, community of property of husband and wife was the basic principle, with practical equality of the two partners carried out to varying degrees. In each region jurisconsults championed their code, Roman or customary, with no thought of making it prevail throughout France. During the revolutionary period, six codes of civil law were proposed, two under the Convention, one under the Directory, and three under Napoleon, the last one being finally enacted as the Civil Code. The most radical project was the first, presented by Cambacérès to the Convention on August 9, 1793. Reasoning from principles of liberty, equality, and uniformity and utilizing the more egalitarian customary codes, this first project prescribed that throughout France, in the absence of a marriage contract between the two partners, the law of community would govern their property relations. Going beyond any customary code, the project radically provided for common and equal administration of the community by the two partners. It also complicated the negotiation of contracts using the law of dowry. The first project was more radical than Sagnac realized. The later codes gradually retreated from this extreme position until the Civil Code, while retaining the principle of uniformity, provided that marriage partners who negotiated a contract might choose the law of community or the law of dowry, that in the absence of contract the law of community prevailed, and that under the law of community the husband managed the common property. These provisions of the Civil Code were on the whole accepted by jurisconsults and by the population in general. Marriage partners who lived in the region formerly of the Roman law simply negotiated contracts that applied the law of dowry.

Duke University HAROLD T. PARKER

CONTRIBUTIONS À L'HISTOIRE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE DE LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. Second Series. By *P. Clémendot et al.* [Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution française. Mémoires et documents, Number 18.] (Paris: [Bibliothèque Nationale.] 1965. Pp. 278.)

THESE papers on the demographic history of revolutionary and Napoleonic France are essays in "microdemography." That is to say, each of them illuminates the social history of a department, city, or neighborhood. Specifically, they deal with

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the distribution of the nobility among the quarters of Paris, demographic and social changes in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, population density in the section of the Lombards, demographic and professional structures at Bayeux, and population changes at Nancy, Toulouse, Strasbourg, and in the department of the Calvados. Assembled and introduced by Marcel Reinhard, they supplement an earlier collection, also sponsored by him, that appeared in the same series in 1962.

The task each author undertakes and the methods he uses are determined, more or less, by the sources at his disposal, but the work is quantitative, and that is its great advantage. Statistics and graphs are correlated with conditions and events. Shifts in birth, death, and marriage rates are attributed to subsistence crises, epidemics, military conscription, unemployment, birth control, emigration, and other political or economic matters that altered social patterns. Populations are tabulated by profession, age, sex, and place of origin. Registration books and *cartes de sûreté* are searched for traces of migrations. The results make clear how revolution and war affected each of these local subdivisions of a society; one might say that they measure it. Some contributors to this volume have managed to bring social conditions into close focus. G. Perrin, for example, records the number of houses in each of thirty-five streets of the tumultuous *section des Lombards* in Paris. He gives the average height, width, and area of these dwellings and the distribution of tenants among them and shows how crowded and poor the neighborhood really was.

These aticles demonstrate, in general, important innovations in method. In a concluding essay that deserves more discussion than can be given here, Reinhard relates the revolutionary and Napoleonic census data to the sample and ratio projections that comprised the demographic "data" of the old regime. It seems that the prerevolutionary estimates of Necker, Moheau, and Messance must now be considered too low because the "multipliers" by which they converted the number of annual births, which they knew, into total population, which they did not know, were too small. Also, those who have followed the development of eighteenth-century population studies will be interested, and appalled, at the disparities of birth, death, and marriage rates and life expectancies from place to place, even within a single department like the Calvados. The best way of evaluating this offering is to say what is obvious, that Reinhard and his colleagues have made an important addition to the literature of a new specialty that seems full of promise.

University of North Carolina GEORGE V. TAYLOR

ASPECTS DE L'ÉCONOMIE NIVERNAISE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE. By *Guy Thuillier*. Preface by *Paul Leuilliot*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI^e Section. Centre d'Études économiques. Études et mémoires, Number 60.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1966. Pp. xxix, 553.)

THE first word in this book's title indicates its nature. M. Thuillier does not offer us an economic history but some twenty brief monographs on economic and social life in the Nièvre department of central France, most of them concerned with the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. His book has this character because the text of some 360 pages is composed for the most part of previously published articles. The author staked out a claim to the economic history of this

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region with his 1959 book on Georges Dufaud and nineteenth-century metallurgy (see *AHR,* LXVII [Oct. 1961], 123). His chief interest in this book still lies in the industrial history of the department with several chapters on metallurgy and mining, as well as accounts of potteries and a paper mill. These discussions, which emphasize entrepreneurship and its reactions to market conditions, deal more in failures than successes and are concluded with a study of a motor scooter and automobile firm in the 1950's and 1960's, another loser. Thuillier also examines working conditions in these industries, and some of his most interesting pages depict the life and labor of the worker-peasants as they moved, with many backward glances, from agriculture into industry. He finds that industrial workers tended to eat and drink better than those remaining on the farm, as sentimentalists sometimes forget. They married early, had many children, and buried a great number of them.

The author devotes little space to agricultural history, but more than compensates for this by chapters on banking, money, and insurance, where he can say something new. The most serious gaps concern the impact of the arrival of the railroads on his department and a study of its demography. Such tables of demographic statistics as he presents should be used with care, for those on pages 292 and 303 contain numerous errors of calculation.

These studies are drawn primarily from private and public manuscript sources and are heavily weighted with explanatory footnotes. Annotated documents totaling 165 pages and a dozen pages of indexes accompany the text. Thuillier's attractively presented book is useful for specialists, especially in conjunction with his work on metallurgy mentioned above, but they will have to make their own synthesis of the economic and social history of this area.

University of Cincinnati J. M. Laux

PRIEST AND REVOLUTIONARY: LAMENNAIS AND THE DILEMMA OF FRENCH CATHOLICISM. By *Peter N. Stearns.* [Character in Crisis.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. x, 209. $5.95.)

This engrossing study of Lamennais skillfully traces the evolution of his ideas and his relations with the Catholic Church under the Restoration and July Monarchy. Although he continued to be active until his death in 1854, the story ends with his dramatic conflict with Pope Gregory XVI and his subsequent break with the Church in 1834 since the author believes that his historical significance derives from his role in Catholicism.

There are many biographies of Lamennais, and the liberal Catholic movement, of which he was the predominant leader in France, has been extensively treated in histories of the Church. Stearns has drawn upon some of these, but he has used chiefly the published works and correspondence of Lamennais, excerpts from which are included in appendixes. Although only direct quotations are documented, the main primary and secondary sources are given in a bibliographical essay. This account of Lamennais, one of the few in English, stresses the historical background, is sympathetic yet moderate in tone, and is very readable.

Lamennais was convinced by his experiences in the French Revolution that order must be restored in society through a reinvigorated and modernized Cath-

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olic Church under the leadership of an infallible pope. An ultra-Royalist at the beginning of the Restoration, he became disillusioned with the Bourbon monarchy because of its restrictions upon the Church and supported revolution and a republic. Since he came to believe that the Church would benefit from liberty, he advocated separation of church and state, and freedom of religion, instruction, and the press. He urged the adoption of social reforms to aid the poor. After his views were condemned by the Pope, he reluctantly renounced the Church and held that the new society need not be established under its aegis since religious truths, based on general reason, antedated the Christian Church. The people would unite and with the aid of Divine Providence bring it to pass.

According to Stearns, the significance of Lamennais does not lie in his amazing ability to prophesy the path that the Church would follow in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries since he was not directly responsible for this development. The liberal Catholic movement, especially in Belgium, owed something to him, but in France it was a minority movement. Ultramontanism eventually re-enforced the conservatives. The social and political ideas of his age are revealed in the opposition that he aroused, and his fascinating personality is worthy of study because of his devotion to God and the people and his passionate concern for the truth.

State University College, New Paltz, New York EVELYN M. ACOMB

LES CONSEILLERS GÉNÉRAUX EN FRANCE AU TEMPS DE GUIZOT, 1840–1848. By *André-Jean Tudesq*. Preface by *Louis Girard*. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Number 157.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 292.)

IN this highly competent study of a well-chosen topic M. Tudesq surveys the political functions and social bases of the *Conseils généraux* in an essentially formative period, for, during the July Monarchy, the *Conseils* developed characteristics that endured through much of the rest of the nineteenth century, both in terms of personnel and of function. His interest is not primarily in the *Conseils* themselves, however, but in the social and political implications of their membership.

The sources for this monograph are clear and are well handled. General statistical surveys of the age, profession, and opinions of the *Conseillers* are combined with careful attention to regional variations and an abundance of individual illustrations. Tudesq relies heavily on prefects' reports for his qualitative assessments of his subjects, but these seem generally acceptable.

There are limitations to the study. The exclusive focus on sources relating to the *Conseils* sometimes inhibits strong statements. We need to know more about the reasons for some of the more interesting regional differences in matters such as professional recruitment, participation of the nobility, and percentage of opposition *Conseillers*. Points that are raised with some astonishment, such as the small number of businessmen in the *Conseils* in the North, actually confirm patterns of behavior discernible in other institutions and known even in secondary literature; yet the connections are left to the reader. Even aside from such relationships, firmer conclusions or summaries of material directly discussed would be a great help; often regional or individual qualifications are allowed to over-

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whelm what still seems a valid generalization. And the social-political focus of the study oddly precludes discussion of the economic activities of the *Conseils* and the related attitudes of their members, a major omission in light of the primacy of such functions in the *Conseils*.

These problems aside, this study is an important contribution to an understanding of the July Monarchy and a worthy complement to Tudesq's larger survey of the notables in the period, offering vivid confirmation of conclusions about social composition and political and religious attitudes. No student of the major regions of France or of individual professions and social groups should ignore the book; suggestions abound about Britanny or the East, about doctors or army officers. The book reveals much, also, about the working of the July Monarchy in the provinces and about the respectable political currents of the day. Suggested also is the role of the *Conseils* in maintaining the political and social strength of the ruling class after the regime itself collapsed.

University of Chicago PETER N. STEARNS

WALDECK–ROUSSEAU. By *Pierre Sorlin*. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1966. Pp. 585.)

M. SORLIN has written a doctoral dissertation, which makes up for many others, on the life and times of the oddest and, apparently, most successful Premier in the history of the Third Republic. René Waldeck-Rousseau (1846–1904) grew up at Nantes in a devout but liberal middle-class family of very limited means, became a successful lawyer (his father had been a modest one), deputy, minister, independently wealthy by his labors and the fortune of his wife, and finally headed the most durable cabinet of the republic: the one that settled the Dreyfus affair, legislated freedom for associations and limits to Congregations. This grist for Guizot's mill is also, as the author tells it, a cautionary tale.

The story unfolds against a varied backdrop. We are given sociopolitical sketches of Waldeck-Rousseau's native Nantes in his father's day as well as in his own, of the legal and political professions in the provinces and in Paris, of the generation born in the 1840's and entering active life toward the end of the Second Empire, this hungry bunch being less wealthy and more businesslike than their elders and also less cultivated so that the scantily read Waldeck-Rousseau figures as an intellectual. Social, political, ideological, and legal issues in which father and son found themselves involved—order, poverty, charity, reform, anticlericalism, the rise of labor and of nationalism, the Dreyfus affair—are all discussed as they arise. Finally, a portrait emerges, patchy but suggestive, of the development of a very *moyen bourgeois* in society and of his thinking about society: a well-intentioned man, conventional, ambitious, timid, greedy, vain, frightened at times, and at times hard working, but capable of adjustment if only by abdication.

The documentation, as one would expect from a student of Professor Renouvin, is impeccable, drawing on the papers of Waldeck-Rousseau himself, of Ferry, Millerand, and Jonnart, and on archives from Ille-et-Vilaine to the *Archevêché de Paris*. Attitudes and actions are constantly placed in a psychological context, though not *à l'américaine*, and the hero's evolution is connected with that of his times. The attempt to interlace topics and chronology is sometimes slightly con-

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fusing, but thoroughness and abounding insights compensate in this very useful book.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

ARISTIDE BRIAND: DISCOURS ET ÉCRITS DE POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE. LA PAIX—L'UNION EUROPÉENNE—LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS. By *Achille Elisha.* Preface by *René Cassin.* ([Paris:] Plon. 1965. Pp. 302. 16.50 fr.)

"Messieurs, it has often been said that I was an impenitent optimist: I plead guilty." So acknowledged Aristide Briand, France's eloquent, supple, and ingratiating "Pilgrim of Peace." Eleven times Premier, this hardy perennial of the Third Republic began his career as a Socialist advocate of the general strike; he drafted the law separating church and state; he broke the rail strike of 1910 by drafting strikers as army reservists; he supported the three years military service law in 1913; he insisted on retaining Verdun in 1915 when General Joffre wanted to abandon it; after the war he worked indefatigably in support of the League of Nations and a *détente* with defeated Germany, which won him the Nobel Peace Prize.

Briand's wizardry with the spoken word became proverbial. A diplomat of the republic of Dahomey, M. Achille Elisha, has gathered a nosegay of speeches on foreign affairs which Briand delivered between the time he formed his fourth ministry in October 1915 and his address to the League of Nations on September 11, 1931. In the thirty addresses Elisha has selected, Briand is revealed as the eternal optimist trying to promote close relations with France's wartime allies, praising the army for the defense of Verdun, defending the Treaty of Versailles, insisting that Germany meet its reparations installments, supporting the French claims for a strong fleet at the Washington Naval Conference in 1921, seeking an Anglo-French mutual defense treaty at the Cannes conference in 1922, defending the Locarno Treaty, advocating German admission to the League of Nations, and defending the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war. Briand warmly praised his German counterpart, Gustav Stresemann, showing no suspicion of the latter's duplicity in approving Germany's clandestine rearmament. Fortunately for his optimism, the "Pilgrim of Peace" died a year before Hitler's rise to power.

Briand's abiding good will, his belief in the power of words, in the efficacy of "charm" shine through his speeches. Yet D. W. Brogan has rendered a harsh verdict upon Briand's oratory, which he regarded as "unreadable in print, barely correct, full of repetitions and unnecessary verbiage. But listened to, it was quite another matter; something was heard that could not be transferred to the page." Elisha is not to be held responsible for breaking Briand's rhetorical spell by printing his speeches.

University of California, Los Angeles JERE CLEMENS KING

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DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS 1932–1939. Second Series (1936–1939). Volume III (19 JUILLET–19 NOVEMBRE 1936). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939–1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1966. Pp. xlix, 844.)

In one of the documents in this collection the French ambassador to the Vatican repeats the Pope's comment after the reoccupation of the Rhineland: "Si vous aviez fait avancer 200.000 hommes, vous auriez rendu un immense service à tout le monde." This might be taken as the theme of the whole volume in which, while little new is revealed, the consequences of that Hitlerian success are seen unfolding.

Since the French system had collapsed, another one was needed. The hopes for some new form of a Locarno arrangement, the discussion of which occupies much space, are revealed in their empty futility; there was no possibility of reconciling the Franco-Soviet Pact and the German contention. Germany was not interested and resorted to delaying tactics; given the success of its methods so far, why should it depart from the tactics of opposing collective arrangements instead of continuing the piecemeal erosion of the existing system, be it collective security through the moribund League or the network of French alliances? The attempt to bolster either structure became an exercise, increasingly divorced from reality, in which the Western democracies persisted despite accumulating warnings and perceptive analyses such as François-Poncet sent at length from Berlin.

Force used with determination exerts a power of attraction, and weakness has the contrary effect of inducing abandonment. The smaller states are seen in the process of seeking alternate ways to salvation, though things had not quite reached the point of a *sauve qui peut.* Poland under the guidance of Colonel Beck had been the first on the new path; the period covered here shows Belgium seeking safety in withdrawing from the French alliance. Czechoslovakia alone seemed to remain completely faithful, but then its freedom to maneuver was less than that of others. From the outbreak of civil war in Spain to Mussolini's proclamation of the Axis, the drift is unmistakably clear.

The role of contending ideologies and of domestic situations is likewise made apparent. France was internally divided and perhaps appeared to be even more so than it actually was; in the eyes of many, both in France and outside, the Soviet pact was a double-edged instrument. France clung to a still-lethargic Britain, and the forces of peace worked in disarray and sometimes at cross-purposes. Altogether, these documents furnish a nice if distressing illustration of the limited possibilities of diplomacy in circumstances that exceed the capabilities of that art.

Barnard College René Albrecht-Carrié

THE FRENCH LEFT AND THE EUROPEAN IDEA, 1947–1949. By *Frederick F. Ritsch.* (New York: Pageant Press. 1966. Pp. 277. $5.00.)

Scholars of French affairs after 1946 will find little that is new in Professor Ritsch's book, and they will be annoyed to have to plow through nearly half of

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it before coming to the heart of the matter. While there are an excess of "background" information and too much repetition, there is also a wealth of detail gleaned laboriously from the political press. Ritsch has gone through the chief periodicals of the SFIO, the Communist party, and some of those of the non-party Left; as a collection of opinions expressed by editors and politicians, the book is useful. The book's utility having been admitted, it has two serious weaknesses: First, Ritsch limits the Left to the Socialist and Communist parties and to a few nonaligned intellectuals. He has failed to recognize that the Left of the MRP and, for awhile, of the Radical party, was more *socialisant* than the Right of the SFIO. A more important defect is his failure to make clear his understanding of the "European Idea." He seems to be more concerned with French views toward the United States than with a concept of Europe; at any rate, he does not adequately distinguish between the two. In compensation, his description of the change that led Left-wing Socialists to take a more favorable stand toward US foreign policy is interesting.

State University of New York, Buffalo LEO A. LOUBÈRE

THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE CRISIS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. By *François Fejtö.* [Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Studies in International Communism, Number 9.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xi, 225. $10.00.)

FIFTEEN years ago the French Communist party was virtually subservient to Moscow. Today it has accepted the thesis of polycentrism in international Communism and has reassessed its role as a French political party. In tracing this evolution, François Fejtö describes how the party once denounced unequivocally the Titoist heresy, staged the "great trials" of André Marty and Charles Tillon, and rejected any active role in the Algerian war debate because of the priority placed by the Soviet Union on retaining the support of French nationalists opposed to German rearmament. Now the PCF's apparent social democratization is found in such "revisionist overtures" as the theoretical acceptance of the pluralism of parties in a socialist regime and in the toleration of previously inadmissible divergencies from the executive committee's stated position. The party is big enough to hold critics of Moscow's condemnation of the writers Daniel and Sinyavsky and hold as well a loud, if small, group of "maotsétoungistes." Basing his account on party publications and personal sources, Fejtö nevertheless concludes that if the PCF is no longer "the party of unconditional fidelity," no one is asking it to be, and that it has merely adjusted its position to a more comprehensive strategy, but one still determined by "the general interests of the Soviet Union and the CPSU."

Developments within the French party, furthermore, are not treated in isolation. Useful comparisons are made with its Italian counterpart, the other great Western European party, and both are placed within the larger context of international Communism. My criticism is mainly concerned with Fejtö's presentation. Apart from a brief introductory chapter on the appeals of Communism in France, his approach is basically catalogical. Such chapters as "From the PCF Sixteenth

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Congress to the CPSU Twenty-Second Congress" contain programmatic and theoretical resolutions adopted by consecutive national congresses and party councils, and they are consequently long on description but short on explanation. When the subject concerns the Byzantine intrigues of an authoritarian organization often reluctant to expose the real reasons for its actions, the need for generalization and interpretation by the writer, especially one so well qualified, becomes conspicuous. A bibliography would have been helpful; one with annotations for the various party publications, indispensable.

Carnegie-Mellon University LESLIE DERFLER

FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY UNDER DE GAULLE. By *Alfred Grosser.* Translated by *Lois Ames Pattison.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 175. $5.00.)

WHEN the original edition of Alfred Grosser's book appeared in Paris in 1965, one of President de Gaulle's ministers wrote warmly: "Here is a book that I recommend to both *gaullistes* and *antigaullistes;* it will help both sides to arrive at a balanced judgment." The same comment holds for American readers, who will find in this slightly revised translation an admirably sophisticated and revealing analysis of Gaullist aims and methods in foreign policy.

Grosser writes neither as partisan nor as antagonist; his views are as fair-minded as one could hope to find. This is not to suggest that he slips into the trap of colorless neutrality; on the contrary, he deals out praise and blame in sharp and often epigrammatic fashion, sparing neither the general nor his critics (American and French). Grosser argues strongly for the thesis that the Fifth Republic has not repudiated, but has continued, the foreign policy of the Fourth, and that De Gaulle's objectives, though not his tactics, have been remarkably consistent throughout. He rightly stresses De Gaulle's basic belief in "the norm of nation-states confronting one another without reference to ideologies" and observes that De Gaulle is the heir to two quite different kinds of nationalism: Barrèsian and Jacobin. He sees De Gaulle's fundamental goal as the achievement of "equality within the [Atlantic] Alliance, while awaiting the day when the world will no longer be divided into two blocs." He concludes, however, that the negative results of De Gaulle's foreign policy heavily outweigh its positive attainments—largely because the general mistakenly believes that increased prestige must lead to increased influence. Yet he admits that prestige *can* create influence, and he advises his American readers not to forget that the Gaullist outlook, which they abhor, is in part the product of United States policies over the past quarter century.

Grosser's book is peppered with shrewd observations on a wide variety of subjects: De Gaulle's political style (a mixture of sincerity and calculation, utilizing the art of deliberate ambiguity); De Gaulle's probable motives as he extricated France from Algeria and substituted a generous big brother role; De Gaulle's error in assuming in 1963 that Britain rather than Germany was "America's Trojan horse" in Europe; the pros and cons of the *force de frappe* and the inescapable dilemma built into the American monopoly in playing the West's hand in the

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"atomic poker game." In short, this is an indispensable book for those who concern themselves with contemporary European history.

Stanford University GORDON WRIGHT

INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF CITY DEVELOPMENT. Volume III, URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN EUROPE: SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. By *E. A. Gutkind*. (New York: Free Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 534. $25.00.)

DR. Gutkind's concern is with the way social, aesthetic, and psychological needs and attitudes shape cities, and this book should not be read without examining the generalizations on such matters in the introduction to Volume I of his series. Otherwise, Volume III lacks any real beginning. It also lacks a conclusion, which the author promises in a later volume.

In sixteen pages the author discusses the land, history, and settlement of Portugal. He then surveys forty-two towns, moving from north to south. Little effort is made to find generalizations that apply to all of Portugal or to relate the survey to the author's general thesis. This material could have been combined with the Spanish sections.

The middle chapters review the geography, climate, and broad lines of Spain's historical development. Gutkind lists traits of the Spanish people that affected town development: a predilection for the concrete and immediate as opposed to long-range plans, a tension between apathy and total commitment, and strong local loyalties.

In one long, solid chapter Spanish cities and towns are systematically related to the author's general ideas. Prehistoric settlements were refuges from man, nature, and the supernatural. Under the Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans, urban life began actively interacting with the countryside, and this culminated under Muslim rule. During the Renaissance and baroque periods, men ceased interacting with nature and began to dominate or disregard it, as illustrated by Christian neglect of Arab irrigation, Habsburg "improvements" which damaged urban cohesion, and later by the impact of industrialism. The last, says Gutkind, causes distintegration of city life and the alienation of the citizen. Spain and, presumably, Portugal have not fallen victim to this malaise on a large scale. The author wistfully hopes that Spanish town life can be preserved until a greater concern for nature and social cohesion can develop within industrial society.

The last chapter is a "city survey" with no attempt at grouping towns with similar traits. Many villages are included, to the point of monotony, while such interesting centers as Palencia, Badajoz, Ciudad Real, Guadalajara, and Murcia are omitted.

Gutkind successfully combines his text with a large volume of maps, old engravings, and photographs of high quality, but the bibliography is sparse, and the lack of annotation is frustrating. It seems inexcusable that there is no mention of the work of Jaime Vicens Vives. The volume lacks cohesion. As part of a large study, it could be more explicitly related to the broader themes. It provides, nevertheless, a much-needed survey of Iberian city life. The book will appeal most to

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historians who consider history as part of the humanities as opposed to the social sciences.

Rutgers University DAVID R. RINGROSE

A HISTORY OF THE SPANISH STAGE: FROM MEDIEVAL TIMES UNTIL THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *N. D. Shergold*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxx, 624, 32 plates. $16.80.)

THE history of the Spanish stage begins with the production of tropes, and shortly thereafter of Christmas and Easter plays, in medieval Catalonia. The earliest known plays were in Latin and were almost entirely religious. But secular subjects and the vernacular language appeared in the fourteenth century, with staging methods and dramatic composition resembling closely those of contemporary France. By the mid-sixteenth century Castile had a flourishing vernacular drama, and from about 1580 on, Madrid was the center of theater production. The last years of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth witnessed the maximum variety and qualitative excellence in both secular and religious plays. The evolution of the drama in seventeenth-century Spain shows many interesting parallels with that of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama: in the earlier years an emphasis on simple staging (but with rich costumes); fine poetry rhetorically delivered, and appreciated by an audience including all classes of the urban population; a mixture of comic and serious elements, and of cloak-and-dagger plots with sophisticated psychological portrayal. In the later seventeenth century the plays were produced increasingly for a court audience only, with much emphasis on stage tricks and eye-filling sets, and with restricted subject matter and character interest by comparison with the plays of the earlier era.

Mr. Shergold's book makes fascinating reading despite the high proportion of technical detail. He is thorough in his discussion both of the scripts and of the hitherto unused archival materials on staging. He has no fixed theories distorting his use of the evidence, and he generously acknowledges the work of earlier scholars. The glossary and the thirty-two illustrations enable even a lay reader like myself to follow the intricate discussions of stage sets and machinery. Historians will find especially valuable the evidence concerning the development of the vernacular in both Catalonia and Castile and the levels of audience interest and sophistication in the main towns of the peninsula from the thirteenth through the seventeenth century.

University of California, San Diego GABRIEL JACKSON

THE ORIGINS OF MILITARY POWER IN SPAIN, 1800–1854. By *E. Christiansen*. [Oxford Historical Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 193. $6.10.)

THE importance of military intervention in the early development of liberal representative government in Spain has been appreciated for more than one hundred years; yet this is the first serious scholarly study devoted specifically to the politics of the Spanish Army in that period. Though the main part of the

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Spanish military archives is closed, Mr. Christiansen has succeeded in collecting data from a great variety of sources. His monograph is soundly documented, and one extra-Spanish source—British diplomatic dispatches—is used to particularly good effect.

The book has several significant facets, perhaps the most important of which is that it endeavors to place the role of the military in perspective amid the structure and limitations of Spanish political society of the nineteenth century rather than subjecting it to the judgment of extraneous standards derived from the experience of the most advanced countries. This study also elucidates the motives and pressures that impelled the military politicians of that era and differentiates varying and successive political cliques within and without the army. The first section, on "the old army," provides useful explanation of the role of the military establishment in eighteenth-century Spanish government. Clarification of the institutional malaise of army organization also helps to explain the politicization of many military leaders. The book concludes with four appendixes on special topics that dispel at least some of the confusion surrounding such murky affairs as the La Granja pronunciamento of 1836 and the uncertain Seville rebellion of 1838.

The volume is written with verve, relative economy, and wit. Though its pungent, somewhat elliptical character will perhaps not make it easy for readers to follow in view of the complexity of the events and problems with which it deals, this is an excellent monograph, the more impressive for being a first book.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY G. PAYNE

POLITICS AND THE MILITARY IN MODERN SPAIN. By *Stanley G. Payne*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 574. $12.50.)

PROFESSOR Payne's book concentrates heavily on the twentieth century. The chapters dealing with the era of pronunciamentos, the revolutionary years 1868–1873, and the Restoration monarchy summarize the political involvements of the Spanish Army between 1808 and 1898, but they are, on the whole, less detailed and less firm in their interpretive judgments than are the corresponding chapters of Raymond Carr's *Spain, 1808–1939*. Two very important points emphasized by Payne are: that none of the leading generals such as Espartero and Narváez became true military dictators, inasmuch as they always depended upon the favor of the crown; that the artillery corps maintained separate organizational characteristics and a jealous feeling of aristocracy even in the nineteenth century.

Fuller treatment begins with the Moroccan fighting in 1908. The author has examined more sources and given a more coherent account than has any other scholar on such matters as the *Juntas de Defensa* of 1917; the Primo de Rivera *coup;* the quarrels over promotion for combat merits as against promotion by seniority; the Sanjurjo revolt of 1932; the military conspiracies of early 1936; the organizational changes made under the republic, during, and since the Civil War; the training, tactics, and equipment of the contemporary Spanish Army. Payne's knowledge of personalities and factions enables him to show clearly the relation between promotion for (combat?) merit and royal favoritism since 1910; he likewise can show the trivial vanities that played so large a role in the 1926 Con-

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spiracy of San Juan. His account of unsuccessful pronunciamentos and uncoordinated plotting before the Civil War helps to explain why Azaña and Casares Quiroga were so unprepared for the military rising of July 18. Prestigious Spanish generals had failed almost ludicrously in attempted rebellions in 1926, 1929, 1930, and 1932. In December 1935 and in February and April 1936 considerable factions of the army had been ready to revolt, but they could find no decisive leadership either among the generals or among Rightist civilian politicians. As of late June 1936 General Mola was gloomy about the prospects of the rising of which he was the principal planner and coordinator. It is thus understandable that the civilian government was surprised by the scope of the July 18 pronunciamento.

In his treatment of the twentieth century, Payne has based his work largely on the multivolumed *Cruzada,* the military periodicals *Ejército* and *Revista de Historia Militar,* biographies and memoirs of leading military men, interviews, and government statistics where available. The writing combines considerable narrative gifts, detailed information, and cautious interpretation. Frequently a footnote on a controversial question will list the "best" or the "principal" accounts without giving any indication which ones the author valued most highly. The book will prove extremely useful to historians for its factual detail and its rich bibliography.

University of California, San Diego GABRIEL JACKSON

FALANGE EN LA GUERRA DE ESPAÑA: LA UNIFICACIÓN Y HEDILLA. By *Maximiano García Venero.* (Paris: Ruedo Ibérico. 1967. Pp. xv, 501.)

ANTIFALANGE: ESTUDIO CRÍTICO DE "FALANGE EN LA GUERRA DE ESPAÑA: LA UNIFICACIÓN Y HEDILLA" DE MAXIMIANO GARCÍA VENERO. By *Herbert Rutledge Southworth.* Translated by *José Martínez.* (Paris: Ruedo Ibérico. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 286.)

JOINT publication of these two volumes by the Spanish *émigré* press Ruedo Ibérico is a unique event. It would be difficult to find another editorial enterprise pairing a partisan, if extensively documented, historical account with a second volume largely devoted to an intensively annotated critique of the first book.

Maximiano García Venero is a former journalist and newspaper editor who in the past quarter century has published a dozen works on modern Spanish political and social history. Most of these treated with originality and relative objectivity key topics that had previously received little study. García Venero's new book constitutes a political biography of Manuel Hedilla, the last independent leader of the Spanish Falange, and also provides a general account of the Falange during the first ten months of the Civil War. It contains much personal testimony painstakingly collected from leading Falangists and to that extent is a very useful contribution to the existing literature on the Civil War. But García Venero, who was himself a Falangist intellectual in the 1930's and a participant in some of the events discussed, makes no effort to disguise the fact that this work is devoted primarily to the historical rehabilitation of the role of Hedilla, an enterprise that is not altogether convincing.

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Herbert R. Southworth is an *émigré* American bibliographer and historical critic, author of the earlier *Mythe de la croisade de Franco* and strongly committed to the cause of the popular front in the Spanish Civil War. The first sixty-one pages of his work are devoted to an analysis of fascist doctrine and the origins of Falangism, in which he offers detailed treatment of the writings of Ernesto Giménez Caballero and Ramiro Ledesma Ramos and lays great stress upon the importance of imperialism in Falangist ideology and in fascist doctrine generally. The main part of the book is devoted to a detailed critique of aspects of García Venero's work, much of which Southworth finds distorted or inaccurate. Many of these criticisms are buttressed with effective documentation, but a few are polemical inferences that rely only on popular front propaganda from the period studied. Though these volumes generate considerable heat and smoke, they both provide new material on the little-studied phenomenon of Spanish fascism.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY G. PAYNE

LE PORTUGAL MÉDITERRANÉEN À LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME, XVIII^e–DÉBUT DU XIX^e SIÈCLE: CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE AGRAIRE COMPARÉE. By *Albert Silbert.* In two volumes. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI^e Section, Centre de recherches historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Volume XII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1966. Pp. 617; 624–1215.)

A SUPERB achievement of the contemporary French school of agrarian history, this astonishingly detailed analysis of the traditional social, economic, and technological structures of Lower Beira and Alentejo, as these still existed between about 1750 and 1850 prior to Liberal land reforms, is one of the most valuable works ever published on Portugal's economic development and a major contribution to general comparative studies in European rural history. Despite the notorious limitations of Portuguese statistics and documentation for this period, Silbert has skillfully exploited the archival and published materials (his bibliography runs to sixty pages) to describe by zone, township (*concelho*), and even village the region's intricately interwoven systems of land use and its complex class organization. Lower Beira is the subject of five chapters, Alentejo nine; these pay particular attention to the extensive but by no means unused brushlands, the types of crops cultivated, the diversity of field systems and land units (including the *roça* methods transplanted to tropical Brazil), the collectivist rights in pasturage and land redistribution, and the human cadres from the great proprietors and capitalist leaseholders down to sharecropping peasants and day laborers. Much of this information and its penetrating interpretation is completely new, illuminating not only the era emphasized but the frequently cited medieval and early modern periods as well.

Three discoveries of particular novelty merit mention: the degree to which this area of so profoundly Mediterranean orientation also constituted the farthest outpost of the Northern European open-field system; the enduring influences of the colonization process of the Portuguese reconquest upon patterns of settlement and field organization; and the key role of sheep raising (especially transhumant) as determining crop-farming techniques and collectivist pasturage

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rights. On this last point more needs to be done with the urban-based stockmen's political and economic control over the villages. The lengthy closing section, which brilliantly places the Lower Beiran-Alentejan countryside in comparative perspective, also provides what is probably the best available introduction to and bibliography for the latest methods and doctrines that are currently revolutionizing our whole understanding of European agriculture and rural society in prehistoric and historic times.

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

LES ARCHIVES GÉNÉRALES DE SIMANCAS ET L'HISTOIRE DE LA BELGIQUE (IXe–XIXe SIÈCLES). Volume II, SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO: FLANDES, HOLANDA, BRUSELAS, COMMERCIO, INCONEXOS . . . ANNÉES 1508–1795. By *Maurice Van Durme*. [Collection de Chroniques belges inédites et de Documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de la Belgique, Number 60.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1966. Pp. xxxvi, 1058.)

This large volume contains an impressive listing of titles of documents from the Simancas archives that touch on Belgian history. Despite the time spans indicated in the series and volume titles, most of the material is of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Apparently very little of this vast collection has been exploited by historians, in part perhaps because the seventeenth century was not a particularly stimulating period of Belgian history.

Judging from the titles, the documents cover a multitude of subjects, including much on the diplomatic, military, naval, economic, and ecclesiastical history of the Belgian provinces and neighboring lands. Particular document titles selected at random refer to the plague of 1666, arrangements for paying Spanish armies, concern over the spread of Jansenism, and problems of the Ostend Company. There are few references to the arts or sciences, though some diplomatic dispatches from Peter Paul Rubens are mentioned. An editor's note suggests that later volumes in this series will cover more extensively some of the enormous collection of religious and financial documents of this period in the Simancas archives.

The titles suggest that this bonanza of documentary material might be of considerable interest to any historian of seventeenth-century Europe, particularly to one concerned with military or diplomatic history. Though the titles were selected from the viewpoint of Belgian history, there is a wide geographical overlap, and much of the material deals with Dutch, German, or Spanish activities. The user is well served by a lengthy, detailed index.

Falls Church, Virginia Theodore B. Hodges

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BRIEFWISSELING VAN HUGO GROTIUS. Volume V, 1632 T/M MEI 1635. Edited by *B. L. Meulenbroek*. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën uitgegeven in Opdracht van Z. Exc. de Minister van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk (Auteursrecht Voorbehouden), Major Series, Number 119.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1966. Pp. xi, 608.)

BRONNEN TOT DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN DEN LEVANTSCHEN HANDEL. Part 4, 1765–1826. Volumes I and II. Edited by *J. G. Nanninga*. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Numbers 115 and 120.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964; 1966. Pp. xix, 804; 806–1756.)

THE first book is the fifth volume of the monumental series that aims to collect all the known correspondence of Hugo Grotius, the famed Dutch jurist who became known as the "father of international law." Renowned throughout Europe, he was, nevertheless, *persona non grata* in his own country. In 1619 the liberal Grotius had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his opposition to Prince Maurice and his Calvinist adherents. Two years later, with the help of his wife, he managed to escape in a large book chest. Grotius settled in Paris where he had influential friends. Here he finished his great work, *De jure belli et pacis*. The book was published in 1625; it made him famous, but did not earn him the much-desired reprieve from his own countrymen.

In 1631 Grotius decided to force the issue by returning to Holland, hoping that the lapse of ten years had mellowed his enemies. He practiced law in Amsterdam under an assumed name until his enemies uncovered his anonymity. He was forced to flee once more, this time to Hamburg. The correspondence contained in Volume V begins with this period. There are over four hundred letters of which ninety have never before been published. They provide much valuable information about the following three years. Crowned heads of Europe vied for his services. In March 1635, at age fifty-two, Grotius accepted the post of Swedish ambassador in Paris, and a new life began.

The second work is the final part of another series of source material, this one dealing with Dutch trade in the Levant. It ends appropriately with the abrogation of the monopoly of this trade previously granted to an institution that was known as the Directors of the Levant Trade. This organization, established at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was a private institution, but it had a close relationship with the government. Never an important segment of the Dutch economy, the Levant trade suffered from the general decline of Dutch trade during this period, in addition to its own problems.

The Turkish government did not allow the Dutch merchants to trade freely, and everything had to be channeled through Jewish brokers. There were frequent fires in the warehouses, often set deliberately for the purpose of looting. Taxes, both Dutch and Turkish, were a constant burden, and Algerian pirates also demanded their toll. When the plague raged business stagnated, and locusts were always a threat to the cotton crop, an important export commodity. It is proof of their tenacity that the Dutch merchants held on to the Levant trade as long as they did.

West Redding, Connecticut GEORGE MASSELMAN

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DE ECONOMISCHE EN POLITIEKE WERKZAAMHEID VAN JOHANNES GOLDBERG. By *Wilhelmus M. Zappey*. (Alphen aan den Rijn: N. Sansom N.V. 1967. Pp. 311.)

Dr. Zappey's doctoral dissertation in economic sciences at the University of Amsterdam is refreshingly old-fashioned in form, although quite up to date in its analyses and judgments. It is a straightforward biography of a public figure of the second rank who was more significant for typicality than for distinctiveness; only that part of the subject's personal life that is immediately relevant to his deeds and ideas is explored. Within these limits, this study is both successful and useful, and it would be pointless to complain that the newer fashions in economic history have not been observed.

In any case, the general and political historian will be thankful to Zappey. He conveys effectively the immediacy of political and, to a lesser degree, economic life in the period from the fall of the republic of the United Provinces until the rise of the kingdom of the Netherlands: the problems faced, the alternative answers, the decisions taken, and their consequences.

By concentrating upon the figure of Johannes Goldberg, he leads us into the historical situations from within. Goldberg, an active leader in the field of Amsterdam insurance underwriters during his long political career, was the son of an immigrant from Germany. Despite the family name, he was not Jewish, although he was generally friendly to Jewish fellow businessmen. Beginning as a fervent Patriot, one of the conspirators who overthrew the regime of the States and created the Batavian Republic, he served in every successive regime but one; Napoleon I, whom he admired as an enlightened despot, refused to name him to any office. It was not democracy but unitary and efficient government that Goldberg favored under all these changing conditions. Ready, even eager, to accept the new in politics, he was still an adherent of the old in economic matters, striving constantly and hopelessly for the restoration of Holland's former position as the emporium of Europe. But his able service as an administrator helped to create the basis for the ultimate emergence of a new Holland, as much industrial as it is commercial and agricultural.

Rutgers University Herbert H. Rowen

BEYOND MARXISM: THE FAITH AND WORKS OF HENDRIK DE MAN. By *Peter Dodge*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1966. Pp. vi, 280. 29.70 gls.)

This is a work that most informed Belgian scholars acknowledge could only be done by an American. Although in the 1930's De Man was frequently acclaimed as the greatest socialist thinker since Marx, was popularly received in Belgium as a national savior, served most prominently in three Belgian cabinets, and replaced the esteemed Eugene Vandervelde as president of the Belgian Socialist party, he died unmourned in exile in 1953, reviled as a false prophet, officially condemned as a Nazi collaborator and traitor to his country. De Man interpreted the Nazi victory as a great break-through in the destruction of bourgeois capitalism and opportunist parliamentarianism, and he believed it possible to maintain a "neu-

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tralist" association with the Germans while creating a true and proletarian socialist state in Belgium. Although he was soon disabused of these ideas and had to flee into exile, his collaborationist activities meanwhile so beclouded his reputation that whatever value his previous theoretical works might have had was lost from view.

Dodge here undertakes the delicate task of retrieving what is valuable from the wreckage. There is much to salvage because De Man, more than any contemporary theorist, realized the extent to which success had "embourgeoified" the socialist movement and sapped its progressive *élan* as well as the extent to which later industrialism and nationalism had altered the presuppositions upon which Marxism itself rested. Not only did he determine what in the ideology was realistic and what was not in terms of traditional orthodox socialist goals, but he did so without sacrifice to the "bourgeois opportunism" of the moderates or the authoritarian economic Machiavellianism of the Communists. In the process he identified the distinctive quality of proletarian socialist goals, legitimized "voluntaristic analysis" as a replacement for traditional, automatic "chiliastic expectations," and, in short, attempted to adjust socialism to the twentieth century.

This is strictly an intellectual biography. Anything that does not contribute to that end is rigorously rejected. As a result, De Man does not emerge as a fallible human but rather as a carefully checked and integrated inventory of ideas and reflections tied together by motivational complexes and rationalized by brilliant though frequently difficult and ponderous Germanic logic. Dodge by no means whitewashes his subject, even implying that his collaborationist activities were the outgrowth of De Man's philosophy. But he seems to say that here was a genuinely selfless and sincere man whose métier was as a champion of the oppressed against the establishment. This métier, together with his intellectual predisposition and dedication to principle, was the cause of both sin and virtue. It enabled him to see more clearly than his contemporaries how modern developments had changed the character of oppression and to make ideological adjustments to cope with the change. But it did not prepare him for the practical tasks of implementing his principles once historical circumstance catapulted him to leadership in the establishment.

The book is based on exhaustive research in public and private archives and includes a comprehensive, annotated bibliography of De Man's work in six languages, a contribution in itself.

Lewis and Clark College ALLAN H. KITTELL

KRABBEKRIGEN OG GJENEROBRINGEN AV JÄMTLAND, 1657–1658. By *Arne Odd Johnsen*. [Forsvarets Krigshistoriske Avdeling.] (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag. 1967. Pp. 356.)

MILITARY history has always been important in Scandinavia, and even regimental histories have often paid enough attention to historical background to be useful for nonmilitary historians. Usually such history is written from a national standpoint with sources from the former enemy employed as reasonable checks. Here we have something unusual: a Swedish-Norwegian war examined from both sides by a Norwegian who has used more Swedish than Danish-Norwegian

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sources. Besides the various national archives and the normal printed sources and literature, he has made significant use of the War Archives in Stockholm. In Sweden during the past decades there has been a renewed interest in the wars of Charles X Gustavus (1655–1660), when Sweden achieved its maximum territorial extent, and a fruit of this was the first volume in 1965 of a new series called "Carl X Gustaf Studier." The present volume will also appear as the second in this series.

With the Swedes bogged down in Poland, the spring of 1657 seemed a good time for Denmark-Norway to regain what had been lost in 1643–1645. The aim of the Danish commander of the main Norwegian army in Bohuslän, Iver Krabbe, was to cut off the Swedes from the west. In the north, the war goal was the recapture of Jämtland, and there Norwegian arms were successful. In the end, however, the war was decided, not on the Swedish-Norwegian frontier, but in the Danish home islands where Charles X Gustavus threatened Copenhagen itself. The result was the Treaty of Roskilde by which Sweden gained Skåne, Halland, Blekinge, and Bornholm in the south as well as Bohuslän in the west. It not only regained Jämtland, but added to it Trondheim, thus cutting Norway in two. How this happened is described in detail in a text heavy with quotations from sources. Dr. Johnsen concludes that "the national army created in the seventeenth century was an important prerequisite for Norway's becoming a free and independent country." The illustrations are adequate, but some of the maps are of poor quality. Those maps at the end of the volume are badly executed and inaccurate. In general, the book is well worth the careful attention both of scholars of Scandinavia and of seventeenth-century military historians.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

STRASBOURG AND THE REFORM: A STUDY IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE. By *Miriam Usher Chrisman*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 87.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 351. $8.75.)

THE emphasis here is on the relations between the reformers and the magistrates. Others—humanists, commons, Anabaptists, the Catholic bishop, and the *Chapterherren*—receive attention in so far as they affected the outcome of the Reformation, but the author's sympathies seem to lie with Bucer and his colleagues. She has chosen to deal rather with external action than internal conviction, and the neglect of ideology has its perils. One of them is the treatment of Schwenkfeld and Franck in the chapter on the Anabaptists as if George Williams had never written. Within its scope, however, this is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of the way in which the Reformation was accomplished in a city. This has been the subject of recent studies by Strauss on Nuremberg and by Monter on Geneva; for clarity of presentation, Mrs. Chrisman's account belongs in the first rank among these.

The author notes that the magistrates were expanding their power at the expense of the Church during the fifteenth century, well before the Reformation. Most of them were hesitant to accept the demands of the reformers; it was certainly not the magistrates who promoted the Reformation. Rather, it was the

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pressure of a minority of the commons, inspired by the Reformed preachers. Except for the notable achievements in education and in social welfare, the reform in Strasbourg was a disappointment to the reformers. It benefited the civil authority, but it did not restore the apostolic church. In opposition to the Anabaptists and in competition with the Lutherans, Bucer was forced to assign greater authority to the magistrates over the Church than he would have wished. (His plan for Hesse gave a more complete expression to his idea of the Church than anything he was able to accomplish in Strasbourg.) A final chapter on the economic, social, and political consequences of the reform concludes that no significant shift in power occurred. Except for the rise in prices, the Reformation was not accompanied by any sharp economic change or shift in wealth. The political constitution was unaltered between 1480 and 1789; political power remained in the same families. The Reformation came about, indeed, not as a result of any infiltration of the magistracy by reformers, but because the measures referred to collectively as the Reformation were adopted by the incumbents. The proposal advanced by Bucer and the reformers for collaboration between the two institutions was rejected by a magistracy that saw no reason to share with a new church the powers they had so long fought to take away from the old.

The author has made use of recently published sources, such as R. Stupperich's edition of *Martin Bucers deutsche Schriften* (2 vols., 1960–62) and the two volumes in the series devoted to the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer: Elsass I, Stadt Strassburg 1522–1532* and *Elsass II, Stadt Strassburg 1533–1535*, edited by M. Krebs and H. G. Rott. She has also made use of the municipal archives, and those of the chapter of St. Thomas. She supplies information about the inventories of these in a bibliographical note, which is followed by a valuable bibliography of published works. A map of the city, the index, and the author's lucid description of the various municipal councils make this book, apart from its other merits, a work of reference for anyone interested in the history of this and other cities in the period of the Reformation.

University of Washington GORDON GRIFFITHS

DIE EINZIEHUNG DES GEISTLICHEN GUTES IM ALBERTINISCHEN SACHSEN, 1539–1553. By *Helga-Maria Kühn.* [Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, Number 43.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1966. Pp. viii, 149. DM 20.)

THE problem of what to do with the goods of the Catholic Church became acute when, as a result of the spread of Lutheranism, churches and monastic houses fell into disuse. The Protestant princes were accused of introducing the reform in order to expropriate the wealth of the Church. Luther insisted that the lands and revenues should not be secularized or sequestered, but reallocated to other sacred uses including the pensioning of the religious, supporting ministers, building and sustaining parsonages, churches, schools, and universities. If anything were left over, the prince, who made the redistribution, might reimburse himself for the expenses of administration. The implementation of these principles varied according to locality.

This study is devoted to what happened in Albertine Saxony, beginning in the year 1539 when the staunch Catholic Duke George was succeeded by his Prot-

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estant brother Heinrich. Precedents were already available: Philip of Hesse had taken swift action and had used the funds to establish the University of Marburg; Frederick the Wise and Johann Friedrich of Ernestine Saxony had been gradualists. When Heinrich proposed to imitate Philip in a territory until then strongly Catholic, he naturally met with stout opposition from the Catholic nobility. His son Moritz was more discreet. His policy in the political sphere was neutralist. He had had his fill of intransigent Catholicism at Dresden and intransigent Lutheranism at Torgau. He preferred the spirit of Philip of Hesse who advised him not to attempt to implement in a prevailingly Catholic constituency what had been possible in an "evangelical" area. Moritz, while proclaiming himself a Protestant, refused to join either the Protestant military Schmalkaldic League or the Catholic League of Nuremberg. He married the daughter of the Protestant Philip and was friendly with Ferdinand the Catholic. As for Church goods, he enlisted the consent of the nobles for reallocation by selling them the properties. The money was used in accord with Luther's principles, and a considerable portion went to the University of Leipzig.

This is a detailed and carefully documented study based on the archives of the East Zone and of Marburg. Precise information on sales is given town by town, and there are abundant notes and a good bibliography.

Yale University ROLAND H. BAINTON

ERNST LUDWIG CARL: EIN FRÄNKISCHER CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES UND KAMERALIST AN HÖFEN DES EUROPÄISCHEN ABSOLUTISMUS. By *Karl Kunze*. (Nuremberg: Lorenz Spindler Verlag. 1966. Pp. 400. DM 12.)

A VERY minor actor on the stage of eighteenth-century Europe, Ernst Ludwig Carl had a small but not uninteresting speaking role in the great drama of the Enlightenment. Born in 1682, the son of an apothecary, he studied law at the new University of Halle, preparing himself for a career in the service of the principalities of Brandenburg-Bayreuth and Ansbach. He became a councilor, an assessor at territorial courts; he traveled to Paris as diplomat, as buyer of works of art for the palaces of his principals, and as lawyer in several of the notoriously intricate reunion cases over properties in Alsace. He acted as companion and guide to a traveling German princeling. Late in his career he settled in Vienna, attached himself to Eugene of Savoy, and argued cases before the *Reichshofrat*. He died in 1743.

Influenced at the university by the jurist and mercantilist Thomasius, Carl became a shrewd observer of the great political and economic practitioners of his time. His critical reports from Paris on John Law's theories of money and credit, and on their turbulent effect on French finances, are still informative, while his three-volume *Traité de la richesse* (1722–23), a comprehensive cameralist treatise on the sound management of public resources, seems appropriate for the sort of parochial, paternalistic German state that Carl served. He also drew up a plan for an academy of agriculture and, in 1726, wrote a *Critique de la Charlatanerie,* a conventional castigation of mankind's folly that is heavily indebted to Erasmus and Bayle.

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This first biography of Carl, an Erlangen dissertation, reviews the abundant source material with sometimes excessive devotion, but it does manage to convey a good impression of the petty world of eighteenth-century German politics and its operatives. Of greatest interest, though only to the specialist, are the detailed descriptions of the many private and public matters of litigation on which Carl spent most of his time and energy. They do not make edifying reading, but they are the stuff of much of the history of the age.

Indiana University GERALD STRAUSS

ANSELM FRANZ VON BENTZEL IM DIENSTE DER KURFÜRSTEN VON MAINZ. By *Horst-Wilhelm Jung.* [Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Mainz, Number 7.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. vi, 169. DM 20.)

THIS biography of the official career of the chancellor of the archbishopric of Mainz, Anselm Franz von Bentzel (1738–1786), who was also later curator of the University of Mainz, is the seventh volume in a series devoted primarily to the study of that university in the eighteenth century. Only the latter part of the book, however, is concerned with Bentzel's "Catholic Enlightenment" reform of the university curriculum, personnel, and teaching methods between 1782 and 1786. The first part deals with Bentzel's earlier, unsuccessful, career as chancellor (1771–1774), and the failure of "Catholic Enlightenment" in Mainz at that time because of the opposition of the Austrian court and the resurgence of the influence of the entrenched *Domkapitel,* the aristocrats who elected the archbishops.

Like many West German state officials, Bentzel belonged to a class that had been relatively stable for 150 years—that of the high state bureaucracy whose members formed an elite corps in eighteenth-century German society and became, also, the chief initiators of reform. Jung's book makes clear that this was true in the ecclesiastical states as well as in the secular. Although of Swedish noble origin, the Bentzel family ranked with the lower nobility and the learned gentry rather than with the "Establishment" of the higher nobility. The latter, with the exception of families like the Stadion and, later, Dalberg, generally opposed reform, dominated the *Kapitel* or electoral college of the archbishopric, and prevented the completion of Bentzel's reform program of 1771–1774, which involved implementing the abolition of the Jesuit order and securing their properties to the absolutist state of the electoral archbishop, Emmerich Joseph, for the purpose of financing a thoroughgoing reform of all the schools. Here, however, modernization meant adopting unorthodox ideas, in short, the Enlightenment, and when the Prince died in 1774, Bentzel and the reform ministry were overthrown. Why the new, almost "reactionary" archbishop, Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal, in 1782 selected so "dangerous" a man as Bentzel to inaugurate the reform of the university is left almost completely unexplained except for the remark that Erthal was anxious for prestige and, domestic politics notwithstanding, wished to gain the approval of the age.

The reform of the university under the curatorial guidance of Bentzel consisted of some implementation of his own firm opinions on who ought to teach, on how one ought to teach (he visited six lectures a day!), and on bringing text-

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books up to date. Academic freedom was considered outmoded; the utilitarian aims of the state were to precede all others. The university was not to seek foreign enrollments, as Göttingen had, but to train a native bureaucracy. Enlightenment ideas were to be introduced in so far as they strengthened and modernized the Catholic ecclesiastical state in competition with the Protestant ones.

In his own, so detailed analysis of the educational theories of this "Josephist" Catholic reformer, the author has made it clear that absolutist motives outweighed all intellectual ones and that modernizing of institutions under absolutism, whether in Catholic or Protestant states, was in no way related to preparing the groundwork for the emergence of liberal constitutional government.

University of Alberta HELEN P. LIEBEL

YEAR BOOK XI. [Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute.] (London: East and West Library for the Institute. 1966. Pp. xxii, 407. 47*s*.6*d*.)

THE Jews of Germany, in their pioneering intellectual accomplishments, were the authentic founders of Jewish modernity. During the century beginning with Leopold Zunz and ending with Leo Baeck, German Jewry ignited a sunburst of published research in the fields of theology, history, Semitics, Biblical studies, folklore, and belles-lettres, the moral and ideological consequences of which have placed every modern Jewish community in their debt. Indeed, the debt has outlived the donor. The survivors of German Jewry in other lands, determined that this unique Central European inheritance shall not similarly expire, in 1955 established the Leo Baeck Institute for the study of German-Jewish life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Every year since then the yearbooks of the institute, with their superb variegation of monographs, documents, and memorabilia, have nobly fulfilled the founders' purpose.

The 1966 volume coincides with the tenth anniversary of the death of Leo Baeck, the institute's namesake and German Jewry's most eminent religious leader during the Weimar and Nazi eras. Hans Liebeschütz' commemorative essay makes plain that Baeck's career epitomized the German-Jewish symbiosis: a trained scholar eclectically blending the insights of modern anthropology and the universalist values of German Protestantism into a continually evolving Judaic *Weltanschauung*. As Robert Weltsch observes in his perceptive introduction to the *Year Book*, and as the essay by Nathan Rotenstreich substantiates, that symbiosis was the legacy of Moses Mendelssohn, the eighteenth-century Prussian-Jewish savant whose mastery of the Western cultural vernacular first opened the door to the integration of Jewish religious and social behavior with German secular loyalties. The change was frequently one-dimensional: accepting the theologically sanctioned ethics of good citizenship not simply as a method but as a goal. Thus, Moritz Güdemann, chief rabbi of Vienna at the turn of the century, persisted in interpreting his Judaism in the conventionally rational-liberal terms of the pre-Bismarckian era, unaware that the burgeoning nationalism of German and Zionist alike was antiquating this terminology in both camps. Two articles by Ismar Schorsch and Josef Fraenkel effectively illumine the twilight world of Güdemann and his generation. The first glimpse, moreover, of this prelusive "disorder and early sorrow" is found in a lucid essay by the promising young

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historian, Michael Myer, who documents the fever chart of Jewish apologetics during the rise and the momentary cresting of German anti-Semitism in the late 1870's and early 1880's. The tempo of Jewish creativity soon resumed and indeed in the 1920's acquired a certain velocity and popular impact in its tentative reconciliation with the Zionist movement. Of course, the virulence of Judaeophobia revived, as well. The two blazed out together in the Nazi death camps.

George Washington University HOWARD M. SACHAR

DAS JUDENTUM IM DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTSBILD VON HEGEL BIS MAX WEBER. By *Hans Liebeschütz*. [Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, Number 17.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1967. Pp. x, 360. Cloth DM 35, paper DM 29.50.)

THIS latest publication of the Leo Baeck Institute traces the evolution of the image of the Jews in German historiography from the Enlightenment to the early twentieth century. It deals with such celebrated figures as Hegel, Ranke, Treitschke, and Weber, as well as with the Biblical scholars Wellhausen and Meyer and the German-Jewish historians Geiger and Graetz. It is impossible in a short review to do justice to the wealth of information and analysis provided by Professor Liebeschütz. In general, he divides the period in half at roughly 1850. In the first period the preoccupations of the writers are philosophical and universal, and Biblical Judaism is considered almost exclusively. The Enlightenment, in its cosmopolitanism, tended to play down the importance of ancient Israel and saw the Old Testament essentially as a barrier to rational Christianity, a prejudice shared, in a different form, by Hegel. Ranke returned to the traditional view that the Hebrew Bible was central to the development of Western culture, but remained indifferent to the study of post-Biblical Judaism.

It was in the period of German unification that the question of modern Jewry arose, coinciding with the beginnings of political anti-Semitism. Treitschke's well-known attacks upon the Jews were based on political rather than on religious grounds, and Mommsen's defense was similarly motivated from the liberal side. But even Mommsen was fearful of the future, as was Burckhardt, who saw the rise of the Jews in his time as the symptom of a new and frightening age. And though Weber rejected his colleague Sombart's identification of the Jews with capitalism, his view of the Jews as a tragic nation of pariahs is echoed in his post-1918 fears for Germany itself.

Though occasionally loose in its structure, Liebeschütz' book, by its richness of content, its lucid and dispassionate style, and its insights into the wider implications of its subject, constitutes a valuable contribution to the intellectual history of modern Germany.

Washington University SOLON BEINFELD

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BREMEN UND DER FERNE OSTEN. By *Dieter Glade*. [Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Number 34.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1966. Pp. 170. DM 17.50.)

BREMEN's trade with and shipping to the US, its enterprises in South America, and the pioneer activities of such Bremen merchants as Lüderitz and J. K. Vietor in the colonial field in Africa outweighed in importance the relations to Asiatic countries. A study of these to the year 1914 forms the content of this rewritten dissertation. The author stresses the difficulties of the task caused by the dearth of sources. The consular and diplomatic activities of the nineteenth century can be studied in the Bremen city archives, but some material from the period of the Empire was either destroyed during the Second World War or has become inaccessible in the *Deutsche Zentralarchiv* in Potsdam. The private archives of many of the leading firms and families were also destroyed in the war. The bibliography and the footnotes show the painstaking use made of archival and published material.

While the study proceeds somewhat ploddingly, whatever questions and facts needed to be considered have been treated diligently in five chapters. Of these, the third and fourth are the most substantial, dealing with the growth of trade and diplomatic relations from 1815 to 1871 and the somewhat changed conditions for trade and shipping after Bremen had become a member of the Empire. The suggestion originating in Bremen to demand from France the cession of Saigon as one of the peace conditions after the Franco-Prussian War, the negotiations about subsidies from the *Reich* for the mail steamers of the north German Lloyd to the Far East, the impressive position created by the House of Melchers in China which, in turn, enhanced German prestige are some of the problems treated that transcend local importance and contribute to aspects of general German history.

All in all, this is a careful study of the topic the author set out to investigate.

Montclair State College EDITH LENEL

MOSES HESS: GESCHICHTE SEINES LEBENS. By *Edmund Silberner*. [Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1966. Pp. xviii, 691. 64 gls.)

THIS massive work, a labor of love by a long-time authority on Hess, is based largely on unpublished material scattered over a half-dozen European countries. Particularly valuable were the photocopied documents, including a previously unpublished diary, made available recently to the *Istituto G. Feltrinelli* in Milan by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. The book also contains thirteen photographs and a chronological table.

Silberner delves into every aspect of the life of this "mixture of dreamer and realist," this "inwardly restless, divided, and ever-active thinker and fighter." From a self-educated son of the ghetto, Hess developed into the "first German socialist of significance." As early as 1836, in his first published work, *Die heilige Geschichte der Menschheit,* he attempted "to infer the necessity of a socialist ordering of society from the development of society itself." As founder of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842) and the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (1845), he became the

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most radical German publicist of the Left, exerting a great influence on both Marx and Engels. But, according to the author, "Philosophical socialism—the first socialist movement on German soil—was Hess's work." After 1848, and his separation from Marx's circle, Hess emigrated, became politically active in workers' movements in the West, and then, finally, along with Lassalle, emerged as "one of the most important founders of German Social Democracy."

Hess became the most important forerunner of the Zionist movement with the publication in 1862 of his best-known work, *Rome and Jerusalem,* "a synthesis of socialism and Zionism before there was a Jewish workers' movement or a general Zionist organization." Thereafter, he lived in two different spheres and wrote for two different circles: the general socialist and the specifically Jewish. "The few Jews who sympathized with him considered his socialism as a superficial appendage to his Jewish writings, while the socialists saw in his Jewish national patriotism only a whim."

All in all, this biography is well written, thoroughly documented, and balanced in judgment. More than any other study I know, it succeeds in bringing Hess's originality to the fore and in relating him to the general sweep of nineteenth-century European social thought and to those areas, socialism and Judaism, in which he was especially, though not exclusively, involved.

University of Southern California ROBERT ANCHOR

STAATLICHE EINHEIT UND REGIONALE VIELFALT IN PREUSSEN: DER AUFBAU DER VERWALTUNG IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN NACH 1867. By *Oswald Hauser.* [Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, Volume VIII, Part 1.] (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag. 1967. Pp. 122. DM 19.80.)

THE catastrophe of World War II and its aftermath, including the denigration and dissolution of the state of Prussia, has led German historians to an intensive restudy and reinterpretation of the last two hundred years of the German past, particularly that of Prussia and its relationship to the course of German history. This monograph, which is Part 1 of Volume VIII of a new history of Schleswig-Holstein, is a recent addition to the growing list of reinterpretive studies of Prussian history. It is a detailed account, based primarily on documents in the Prussian archives, of the development of the Prussian administration in Schleswig-Holstein after 1867, following the Prussian annexation of the duchies. After a statistical narrative of the situation before the annexation, Hauser discusses the Prussian administrative principles to be applied in the new province, pointing out that throughout Prussia a conflict existed between the tendency to hold firmly to traditional practices and the desire to reform the administration. This conflict between the conservative traditional principle, stressing political unity, and the liberal progressive principle, stressing regional variety, determined the new order in Schleswig-Holstein and led to a distinctive mixture of both principles. The rest of the study is a step-by-step account of the administrative developments in the duchies and their influence within the government of Prussia as the duchies were incorporated into the Prussian governmental system. These developments included the establishment of the post and telegraph system and a

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new currency, the reform of taxation and the judiciary, the regulation of industry and the admission of the new province into the *Zollverein,* the organization of the government at all levels under the skillful leadership of a Schleswig-Holsteiner, Carl Freiherr von Scheele-Plessen, and the promulgation of regulations and constitutions.

For a long time the new Prussian administration met with little sympathy and much criticism from the Schleswig-Holsteiners. But the author maintains that a careful study of the documents shows that, viewed as a whole, the harsh criticism of the new rulers was unjustified and that it was with an impressive measure of good will and concern that the Prussian administration tried to protect the long-established customs and institutions cherished by the population.

Hauser points out that the representatives of the new administration set two limits to their accommodating spirit: the safeguarding of the unity of the state and the obligation to favor progress. Where particularism seemed to endanger the state, limits had to be set; where old institutions were stagnating, they could not be retained. Within these limits, however, the Prussian administration was able to maintain general principles binding for the whole state and particular principles recognizing historic tradition and regional variety.

Part of the author's purpose is to revise the absolutist image of Prussia by demonstrating that this "ideal of the differentiated unitary state" is a "characteristic trait of the Prussian state." This is a balanced contribution to the history of Prussian administration.

University of California, Santa Barbara HENRY M. ADAMS

GESELLSCHAFT UND DEMOKRATIE IN DEUTSCHLAND. By *Ralf Dahrendorf.* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. 1965. Pp. 516.)

THE author of this brilliantly executed sociological study has gained recognition as one of the most gifted scholars of the post-Hitlerian generation that begins to assume leadership in German education. It can also be said that he exemplifies the readiness of the younger German social scientists to absorb the stimuli that American scholarship has to offer.

Dahrendorf's book is the work of a sociologist, but it deserves study by historians of Germany as well. He starts with the assumption that forms of government need a specific structure of society if they are to operate well. Liberal democracy depends for its proper functioning on a society in which citizenship is fully developed together with its corollary: equality. The institutions of the internal order of such a society must not suppress conflicts, but make their rational solution possible. The "elite" should be a group composed of men from various classes but who have gained some social homogeneity. It should finally be a society that cultivates "public virtues." In Germany the Industrial Revolution came late and fast and did not destroy the traditional social order. The relatively small bourgeoisie did not become a class fighting for equality; rather, it adjusted itself to the nobility. The nobility and high bourgeoisie possessed a power monopoly in the monarchical empire that did not allow full citizenship, equality, and the other values of liberalism. The Weimar Republic not having been preceded by a social revolution failed to create a political class. The Nazis erected a totalitarian

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power monopoly that belatedly leveled the "feudal" remnants that the authoritarian power monopoly of imperial days had carefully preserved. While the collapse of the Third *Reich* has given the Germans the chance to build a liberal democracy, the Nazis did not destroy all obstacles. Quite apart from the new totalitarianism in East Germany and the problems posed by a reunion of the two Germanies, West Germany still has a distance to go before liberal democracy will be safely established. The book succeeds in setting clear guidelines for reaching this goal.

Yale University HAJO HOLBORN

DAS DRAMA DER 99 TAGE: KRANKHEIT UND TOD FRIEDRICHS III. By *Michael Freund*. (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch. 1966. Pp. 448. DM 29.80.)

THE fatal illness of Emperor Frederick III has long been the source of a serious medicohistorical controversy. Could Frederick's life have been saved? The issue has generally been seen as a national one, pitting the Emperor's German doctors, who diagnosed his illness as cancer and urged an immediate operation, against the English specialist, Morell Mackenzie, who at first denied the presence of cancer and opposed an operation.

Professor Michael Freund of the University of Kiel adds a new dimension to this debate. He strongly suggests that Frederick's wife sided with Mackenzie because failure to operate offered a better chance of Frederick's succeeding to the throne on the death of his father, which seemed imminent. Even if his reign were short lived, Victoria is supposed to have reasoned, it would at least assure her of some of the imperial perquisites: prestige, money, castles. Freund offers no direct evidence for this suggestion; the only documentation is some ill-tempered statements of Bismarck and one by Prince Philipp Eulenburg, all of them complaining about Victoria's craving for money. By Freund's own admission, Bismarck, a long-time opponent of Victoria, is a dubious witness. And, given the unhappy mother-son relationship between Victoria and William II, the testimony of Eulenburg, a close friend of William, cannot be considered any more reliable. Freund does not even touch on the possibility that Victoria's opposition to the very dangerous operation on her husband may simply have been owing to a devoted wife's fear of the outcome. This is indeed the impression that her letters and statements convey. Freund, however, who makes no secret of his dislike of the Empress, continually reads a sinister meaning into whatever she wrote or said.

The book's bibliography lists an impressive array of sources consulted, but the specific documentation is erratic and frequently fails to support Freund's conclusions. The work suffers also from repetitiousness and overly long quotations. Its tenor is derisive and does no justice to the human tragedy with which Frederick and Victoria were trying to cope.

Ohio State University ANDREAS DORPALEN

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UNTERNEHMER GEGEN MONOPOLE: ÜBER STRUKTUR UND AKTIONEN ANTIMONOPOLISTISCHER BÜRGERLICHER GRUPPEN ZU BEGINN DES 20. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Helga Nussbaum.* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1966. Pp. ix, 254.)

THIS solid study is a new example of the increasing realism that characterizes so many contemporary works produced by scholars behind the iron curtain, especially in the satellite states. While they are unable, and most of them unwilling, to voice any criticism of Leninism and of its picture of monopolism, they at times automatically jump this hurdle by presenting the great variety of forms the monopolies assumed in actual life. This makes them more objective than they formerly could afford to be and often renders them superior to their Western colleagues who as a rule either ignore or blindly defend the monopolies, as does the West German economic historian Wilhelm Treue whom Frau Nussbaum justifiably criticizes.

She starts by presenting a clear and diversified picture of the big German monopolies in the early years of Wilhelm II. Using copious material from the German chambers of commerce and ample documents from the Potsdam *Zentralarchiv* and other repositories in the DDR, she then investigates both the socio-economic situation and the political affiliations of the industrialists who fought those forces. Conspicuous among these producers were the manufacturers of finished products such as the *Kleineisenindustriellen* of Hagen-Schwelm, supporters and electors of Eugen Richter, the famous leader of Leftist German liberalism. Nussbaum's careful analysis of the manifold interests of this kind that backed the liberal *Splitterparteien* and determined their stand toward the monopolies shows acumen and diligence. The liberal producers' fight against protectionism and monopolies was carried through by the *Handelsvertragsverein* and by the more strongly producer-led *Bund der Industriellen,* headed by the young Gustav Stresemann. Especially interesting is the author's presentation of certain instances in which Rightist agrarians, liberal industrialists, and Social Democrats combined to attack the big trusts.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

ALBERT BALLIN: BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN IMPERIAL GERMANY, 1888–1918. By *Lamar Cecil.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xxi, 388. $9.00.)

ALBERT Ballin, the managing director of the Hamburg-American Line, was not only a great tycoon but an intimate of the Kaiser, an amateur diplomat, and a party to political intrigue at high levels. His career is, therefore, worthy of the painstaking research it has received in this study, which utilizes an impressive array of microfilmed documents from the German archives as well as the records of the Hamburg-American Line itself. Even more impressive is the author's success in digesting and organizing this great bulk of material. The result, despite occasional disconcerting errors of syntax, is a pleasant and informative narrative.

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The main thread through the book is Ballin's Anglophilism. He saw England not as the mortal foe of German power but the friendly rival for markets. In the Atlantic emigration traffic and in the opening of the Near and Far East, Ballin, like most German traders, was willing to allow Britain its political influence in return for "fair play" in dividing the markets. Though he initially endorsed Tirpitz' naval ideas, he later urged moderation, and, as early as 1908, joined Sir Ernest Cassell in the first of many attempts to achieve an Anglo-German naval accord. These efforts reached a climax four years later in the Haldane mission, and though Professor Cecil does not change our over-all picture of that episode, he does add fascinating details about Ballin's intrigue behind the scenes and the intramural disagreements in both countries. In 1914 Ballin contributed inadvertently to the outbreak of the war by reporting from London that sentiment for neutrality ran higher than it actually did. During the war he was generally a pessimist, an advocate of a negotiated peace, an in-and-out critic of unrestricted submarine warfare, and at the end a champion of political reform—a deathbed conversion for both him and the Empire as it turned out, for he died on November 9, 1918.

Cecil tells us that he deliberately neglected Ballin's brilliant managerial career in favor of elucidating the larger problem of the interaction between business and politics. The endeavor is worthy but not strikingly successful, and this mainly because his convictions are rather postulates than conclusions. The author holds the popular view that the German middle class was peculiarly remiss in not struggling for liberal reforms and thereby left affairs to the mismanagement of aristocratic cabals around an inept Kaiser. Ballin's career certainly exemplifies the preference of businessmen for influencing affairs through private channels (only to learn that their political advice usually went unheeded), but the observation itself is little more than a truism; nor is there any proof, in this book or anywhere else to my knowledge, that responsible middle-class ministers would have erred less. Suppose Ballin had been Chancellor as was several times proposed. What can be said of a man who believed England would see a great difference between Germany's annexing Belgium and merely imposing a military and economic protectorate after the war? The views of such aristocrats as Paul Metternich and Lichnowsky seem sane by comparison. But we are here dealing with a perennial problem of German history, not denying the merits of a solid contribution to scholarship. The author has not avoided all the shoals, but we shareholders can rejoice that he has brought his vessel safely back to Cuxhaven.

University of North Carolina ENNO E. KRAEHE

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L'ALLEMAGNE ET LES PROBLÈMES DE LA PAIX PENDANT LA PREMIÈRE GUERRE MONDIALE: DOCUMENTS EXTRAITS DES ARCHIVES DE L'OFFICE ALLEMAND DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES. Volume II, DE LA GUERRE SOUS-MARINE À OUTRANCE À LA RÉVOLUTION SOVIÉTIQUE (1er FÉVRIER 1917–7 NOVEMBRE 1917). Published and annotated by *André Scherer* and *Jacques Grunewald*. Preface by *Maurice Baumont* and *Pierre Renouvin*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Textes et documents," Number 14. Travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire des Relations internationales, Number 4.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. xlvi, 578. 35 fr.)

THESE documents are devoted to but one preoccupation of the wartime German Foreign Office: "We have wished to retain only that documentation concerning attitudes and actions directly tending to put an end to the war." The editors further assure the reader that within these rather constricting limits everything of significance has been included. The materials comprise not only Foreign Office memorandums, diplomatic dispatches, and records of conferences with the Austro-Hungarian government but also papers from imperial headquarters and the military and naval authorities and minutes of the Prussian council of ministers.

The period covered by this second of a projected three-volume work is dominated by the effects of the submarine offensive and the gradual withdrawal of Russia from the conflict. Despite American intervention and Britain's refusal to surrender, the progressive political dissolution and military retreat in Russia favored a "hawkish" stance. To the east, the greatest hopes seemed realizable, dependent only on Austrian acquiescence and endurance. To the west, French political instability might make concessions unnecessary, particularly if the British proved amenable to some sleight of hand over Belgium. A favorable military-political environment was, perhaps, as much responsible as the well-advertised intransigence of Hindenburg and Ludendorff for the ambitious nature of German war aims.

However that may be, the expansionism of German policy is amply documented by this selection, the contents of which tend to confirm the current accusatory trend of scholarship on wartime Wilhelmine Germany. (It is interesting to note, however, how pressure by William II on the high command helped to impose an "Austro-Polish," rather than purely German, direction to the future of Russian Poland.) Recent works by Epstein, Fischer, Ritter, and Steglich have all exploited the Foreign Office archival material, and it cannot really be said that the documents now published add anything very startling. The lack of any new contemporary documentation on the overture in September to the British through Madrid is positively frustrating.

Even so, this selection of primary sources taken directly from the archives is a most useful and welcome addition to the published historical record. The French editors have accomplished their task in magisterial fashion, while the preface is as acute and perceptive an evaluation of what new information there is (notably on the Austro-Hungarian peace offer) as one might expect from the distinguished

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signatories. The editorial apparatus, including the analytical table of contents, is all in French; the documents themselves, mostly in German.

State University of New York, Buffalo PAUL GUINN

ENTWAFFNUNG UND MILITÄRKONTROLLE IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1919–1927. By *Michael Salewski.* [Schriften des Forschungsinstituts der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik E. V., Number 24.] (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1966. Pp. 421. DM 65.)

A STUDY of German disarmament after World War I and its control by the European Allies has long been overdue. The main source for this book—the German Foreign Ministry's files on the *Interalliierte Militärkontrollkommission* (IMKK)—largely determines its approach. The author deals only incidentally with Germany's countless violations of the disarmament clauses of Versailles or with the everyday efforts of the IMKK to see these clauses carried out. Instead he concentrates on high-level relations between Germans and Allies, the former trying to rid themselves of foreign control, the latter refusing to leave before Germany had honored its obligations. The author makes a laudable attempt to treat domestic as well as foreign repercussions of German disarmament. The book is particularly strong on the initial period of inter-Allied control and on the phasing out of control during the Locarno era.

Seen from the vantage point of the atomic age, Germany's disarmament violations do not loom as large as they did a generation ago. Still, it is wrong to belittle these violations as is done in a foreword by Professor Hubatsch, who directed the dissertation on which the book is based. The author himself tries to be more objective, though he does not always succeed. He is far more willing throughout to condone Germany's obstructionist policy than he is to understand Allied opposition to such obstruction. His assertion that "there can be no doubt of the honest intention of the German government to live up to the treaty" is hardly supported by the evidence presented; nor is it just to accuse the Allies not only of "wanting to make the *Reich* completely defenseless" but of "inviting its hostile neighbors to attack a powerless Germany." France generally is judged more harshly than Great Britain, although some members of the British control team, notably the "Deutschenhasser" General John A. Morgan, are severely and unfairly criticized.

The subject of German disarmament, as the above quotations show, is still sensitive. Except for such occasional lapses into partisanship, however, this is a well-balanced and informative book. Its conclusion, that it is impossible and thus unwise to impose unilateral disarmament on a major power, is well argued and worth pondering.

Yale University HANS W. GATZKE

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AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918–1945, AUS DEM ARCHIV DES AUSWÄRTIGEN AMTS. Series B, 1925–1933. Volume I, Part 1, DEZEMBER 1925 BIS JULI 1926: DEUTSCHLANDS BEZIEHUNGEN ZU FRANKREICH, GROSSBRITANNIEN, BELGIEN SOWIE DEUTSCHE ENTWAFFNUNG, REPARATIONEN, VÖLKERBUND UND INTERNATIONALE ABRÜSTUNG. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. lxix, 799.)

It is a pleasure to welcome the first volume of "Series B" of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*. The Federal Republic of Germany has assumed responsibility for continuing publication of this collection under the guidance of historians from Germany, the United States, Great Britain, and France. We can now look forward to the appearance, in German, of the originally projected "Series A" and "B" from 1918 to 1933, and a new series, "E," for 1941 to 1945. The principal members of the committee that prepared this volume are Hans Rothfels, Fritz Epstein, and Vincent Kroll, for Germany; Howard M. Smyth and Hajo Holborn, the United States; Alan Bullock and Ronald Wheatley, Great Britain; and Maurice Baumont, France.

This volume presents 301 chronologically arranged documents from after the signing of the Locarno Pacts on December 1, 1925, through July 1926. It is limited to German relationships with Great Britain, France, and Belgium, and to the fundamental problems of reparations, disarmament, and the League of Nations. Eastern Europe and other nations will follow in subsequent volumes. The editors have performed their task magnificently, with meticulous attention to detail and full summaries of each document arranged by subject.

Through the eight months covered by this volume, the Germans, as we now know so well, were pressing their advantage, and their determination to push all possible revisions of Versailles appears on almost every page. Although most of these documents have been available on microfilm to researchers for a number of years, publication makes this material much more easily accessible. Students of the diplomacy of the 1920's will welcome the selections of documents on the problems that beset German entry into the League, the knotty difficulties of German and international disarmament, the extensive attempts to modify the Eupen-Malmedy settlement, the evacuation of the first zone of the Rhineland, reparations and the Dawes plan, and general political relations with France and Great Britain.

The appearance of the volume handily coincides with the first of the new "Series IA" of *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939* (1966), *The Aftermath of Locarno, 1925–1926*. It is fascinating to follow negotiations from one volume to the other. How different the problems look from different points of view! One looks forward with anticipation to the continuation of these two series.

Georgetown University Thomas T. Helde

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MIT DER KRAFT DES GEISTES: LEBENSERINNERUNGEN. ZWEITE HÄLFTE, 1927–1967. By *Arnold Brecht.* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1967. Pp. 496. DM 38.)

Arnold Brecht's autobiography is a significant book. As one of the delegates of Prussia to the *Reichsrat* he brings much new material about the relationship of Prussia to the *Reich*. Brecht was, moreover, intimately concerned with the plans to reform the Weimar Constitution, and he has interesting things to say about these abortive attempts. As his last service to Prussia and the republic, after Papen's *coup d'état,* he pleaded Prussia's case before the *Reichsgericht.* Brecht documents his analyses by drawing from hitherto unpublished letters and from speeches not easily accessible elsewhere.

On another level the book can serve to illustrate the dilemma of a devoted republican civil servant in the face of the growing antidemocratic menace. Brecht furthered Prussia's loyal collaboration with the *Reich,* though in retrospect it seems unlikely that the Weimar Republic would have suffered shipwreck merely upon the unresolved dualism between Prussia and the *Reich*. He convincingly defends, however, the nonresistance of the Prussian ministers to Papen's *coup:* after all, the Chancellor of the *Reich* could legally take over the Prussian police, and existing unemployment might well have broken a general strike.

But what were the alternatives as this loyal republican saw them during the last years of the republic? Brecht is aware that most of the electorate was antidemocratic, but he also clings to the fact that the Nazis never received a majority of votes. Brecht's list of alternatives envisages the attainment of power by a responsible Right in opposition to the Nazis, but in turn he misreads that Right when he blames Hugenberg for not safeguarding human rights in the enabling law of 1933. The responsibility of this Right never extended to such lengths. Brecht thought that an "oligarchic democracy" might save the republic by denying totalitarian parties the right to stand for elections. Typically enough, a popular front never enters any of his calculations. Even in the last years of the republic Brecht believed that changing the constitutional framework of the state might preserve German democracy. He shows no awareness, however, of the inexorable dynamic of antidemocratic mass movements. Nor does he see that legal devices, such as the adjustment of Prussia to the *Reich,* would not have defeated the joint hostility of the army and the Right to that *Land*. The objection was not to Prussian particularism but to its social democracy.

While the narrow legal and institutional framework within which the book moves reveals much that is new for the historian, it also ignores the deeper and revolutionary forces at work in ending the republic. This illustrates the dilemma of many supporters of Weimar Germany in the face of an enemy who threatened to liquidate their world of humanity, order, and law.

University of Wisconsin George L. Mosse

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ALLES ODER NICHTS: ZWÖLF JAHRE TOTALITÄRER HERRSCHAFT IN DEUTSCHLAND. Volume I, 1933–1939. By *Martin Göhring.* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1966. Pp. xiv, 354. Cloth DM 23, paper DM 19.)

THIS first of two scheduled volumes addresses itself to more than a scholarly audience. The author, an expert in French history, especially in the history of the French Revolution, wants to explain to the German youth how their fathers could become involved in an adventure that was to burden Germany with one of the most horrifying responsibilities a nation has ever borne. Approaching his subject in the form of narrative history and using extensive quotations from Hitler's public speeches, he succeeds in capturing much of the atmosphere of the time. While he impresses by his sincerity and seriousness, one wonders whether his younger readers will be convinced by an interpretation that does not question more rigorously the basic values of their fathers.

What Mr. Göhring offers as an explanation is mainly the familiar thesis that Hitler succeeded by demagogy and skillful propaganda in concealing from the Germans his policy of criminally abusing traditional German values and goals. It is not necessary to repeat here that there must be something wrong with values whose corruption can be concealed merely by demagogic tricks, but it may be noted that the problem reappears in the author's own judgments. While he unequivocally condemns Hitler's terroristic resolution of the Röhm crisis in 1934 as a destruction of the *Rechtsstatt* in Germany, he is considerably less certain of his position regarding Hitler's foreign policy up to 1938; occasionally he finds considerable promise in it. This is exactly the kind of confusion that rendered German conservative and bureaucratic leaders in the 1930's defenseless against Hitler. What they did not understand, and what some people still do not understand, is that Hitler's pre-1938 policy, identical with a "moderate" German nationalism, destroyed the existing European system without offering any substitute. This was not only the international equivalent to the domestic destruction of *Rechtsstaat;* it also contradicted Germany's best interests. If German history since 1871 has shown anything, it is that Germany's precarious position in Central Europe cannot be safeguarded by the classical diplomacy of alliances. It requires a more stable framework of international organization. The core of the Stresemann problem is whether his policy toward the League of Nations and European unification was a mere tactical device or an integral part of his political conception. With Hitler, however, there is no problem. It is an ironic paradox that the Versailles Treaty, however damaging to Germany, still secured its existence and its unity, while the supposedly national policy of the "moderate" Hitler prior to 1938 deprived it of this protection, thus creating the tensions and dangers that were to provide the pseudo legitimation for his hegemonic adventures.

University of California, Berkeley WOLFGANG SAUER

KRIEGSPROPAGANDA, 1939–1941: GEHEIME MINISTERKONFERENZEN IM REICHSPROPAGANDAMINISTERIUM. Edited and explained by *Willi A. Boelcke.* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1966. Pp. 794.)

THE aim of this volume, contained in an editorial statement, is to fill the gap in

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documented utterances by Goebbels extending from the start of World War II to the beginning of the Goebbels diaries edited by Louis P. Lochner (1942). Herr Boelcke, being a trained historian known for his edition of material on Krupp that came out prior to his moving from the DDR to the West, is even better qualified to handle this kind of a task than was Lochner, who was the former Berlin Associated Press correspondent and whose preface and editorial comments give proof of his close acquaintance with the subject, but remain primarily those of a journalist with a strange bias in favor of the German business tycoons, whom he later defended publicly.

Both Boelcke's introductory statements, which cover roughly two hundred of this book's almost eight hundred pages, and his comments on the minutes of Goebbels' daily briefings of his staff which are published here in full, deserve unstinting praise. Without his presentation of the history and the organization of Goebbels' *Propagandaministerium* and its leading personnel the reader would not fully understand the scope and nature of those *Ministerialkonferenzen,* as these briefings were called, though they differed from other such meetings in that their participants merely received orders or at best were permitted to intersperse their chief's daily monologue with their reports, but without discussion. (At least the minutes never show such.) Still, the variety of topics treated and the way in which Goebbels handled them deserve general attention.

With a superfanaticism that makes one wonder whether it was not rooted in a hidden fear of being regarded as a Jew and that stimulated his icy reasoning, Goebbels daily devised directives that make the reading of this documentary work a must for the psychoanalyst, the historian, and the student of political propaganda. It reveals how Goebbels managed to keep a Germany topped by the Hitlerized lower middle class (to which he catered, but not blindly—he sharply attacked its predilection for "kitsch" and its sentimentality) firmly in Hitler's hands to the bitter end.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

ENTSTEHUNG UND GRUNDLAGEN DES WAFFENSTILLSTANDES VON 1940. By *Hermann Böhme.* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 12. Der deutsch-französische Waffenstillstand im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Volume I.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1966. Pp. 464. DM 44.)

THE Franco-German armistice of June 22, 1940, has hitherto been discussed principally from the French viewpoint. This work represents the first attempt to discuss it systematically from the German viewpoint. It is the first volume in a projected two-volume study of German or, to be exact, Axis policy toward conquered France. It treats the conception, conclusion, and immediate consequences of the Franco-German and Franco-Italian armistices of 1940. It covers a period of roughly one month, from mid-June to mid-July. The second volume is supposed to encompass the period from July 1940 to November 1942 when the Allies landed in French North Africa, the Germans occupied the hitherto unoccupied part of France, the French scuttled their fleet, and the armistice conventions ceased to be the basis of Axis policy toward France.

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The author is a former German officer on the Franco-German armistice commission at Wiesbaden. His book, however, is not a personal memoir. It is an exhaustive historical study, based on German archival material and published sources in the German, Italian, French, and English languages. The book reproduces in the appendixes the texts of the German and Italian armistice conventions and gives the tables of organization of the German armistice commission. It also contains a good map of the occupation zones in France. Like many recent German studies of the touchy subject of German policy in the two world wars, the book suffers from the author's excessive concern for objectivity. Böhme offers no personal recollections or value judgments and little analysis or interpretation. The book is largely descriptive; the style is deadpan. No attempt is made to exploit the inherent drama in such incidents as the confrontation of the German and French armistice commissions in the old railway command car of Marshal Foch at Compiègne. According to Böhme, this scene of German historical revenge against the French was conceived by Hitler personally. It was also Hitler who drafted the notorious preamble to the armistice convention, in which he belabored the point that tables had been turned since the armistice of 1918—as if the French needed reminding!

This is not an entertaining book. Nor is it especially profound. Nevertheless, by presenting in abundant detail the German and Italian side of the armistice of 1940, it fills a serious gap in the historical literature of World War II.

University of Georgia VICTOR S. MAMATEY

DER DEUTSCHE WIDERSTAND GEGEN HITLER: VIER HISTORISCH-KRITISCHE STUDIEN. By *Hermann Graml et al.* Edited by *Walter Schmitthenner* and *Hans Buchheim.* [Information, Number 17.] (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch. 1966. Pp. 287. DM 16.80.)

THE cold war has taken a heavy toll of casualties in historical writing. This is particularly clear in the case of Germany, where the division of the country into two politically and economically distinct and mutually hostile polities has engendered two distinct "schools" of historical writing that reflect the differences as well as the animosities.

One of the chief victims of this split has been the history of German opposition in the Third *Reich.* West Germans have tended to repudiate Leftist resistance as tainted with treason; East Germans have tended to reject Rightist resistance as mere intrafascist factionalism. It is characteristic that West German historians (including the editors of this volume) speak of resistance to Hitler (so as to leave room for the many conservatives who did object to Hitler without being in principle hostile to Nazism), while East German historians speak of resistance to Nazism (on the supposition that all opposition worthy of the name was opposition to Nazism as such—a view I believe to be correct—and that all genuine anti-Nazis were Leftists—a view I know to be false).

For all its limitations, this book is a milestone on the road to a more balanced history of opposition in the Third *Reich.* It covers, albeit unevenly, the whole political spectrum engaged in one or another form of opposition, and it deals with the endlessly varied views and aims of the resisters, revealing the total lack of

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unity among them, their endless soul searching, and the essential "unrealism" of even the most "realistic." It shows forthrightly how a mindless anti-Communism tied the old establishment, including the churches, to the *Führer.* Finally, it makes clear why the opposition had no popular base (the strongly anti-Nazi labor movement had been smashed at the outset, and the mass of the middle class were loyal Nazis) and why the potentially most effective opponents came from the ranks of Nazi collaborators, who alone enjoyed freedom of movement and of thought until almost the end of the regime.

The strong points of the book also harbor its weaknesses. Three of the four studies—Hermann Graml on foreign policy views, Hans Mommsen on social and constitutional ideas, and Ernst Wolf on the relation of moral to political motives—deal almost exclusively with intellectual and ideological orientations and concerns. The fourth, Hans J. Reichhardt on the scope and limits of resistance by the labor movement, also deals largely with the same things. Here, as so often, the historian is tempted to focus on the literate and verbal, whose diaries and memorandums, letters and notes afford insight into motives and plans that the ordinary citizen either does not elaborate or fails to set down on paper. Only Reichhardt's study goes beyond the elaborate schemes and discussions of the "intelligentsia" to the activism of the isolated groups and individuals who persisted in active opposition long after the organized Left had been suppressed and its leaders imprisoned.

And yet the imbalance of the book is a fair reflection of the inherent tragedy of German opposition in the Third *Reich:* on the part of the working class, much individual heroism and no organized power; on the part of the upper-class resisters, much searching thought and too little action.

Brandeis University HEINZ LUBASZ

DIE 23 TAGE DER REGIERUNG DÖNITZ. By *Marlis G. Steinert.* (Düsseldorf: Econ-Verlag. 1967. Pp. 426.)

THIS long-neglected period of the Dönitz regime is skillfully and objectively handled in Dr. Steinert's meticulous study. Extensive footnotes provide an excellent guide to source materials for the period. Concentrating on the leading figures—Dönitz, Jodl, Schwerin von Krosigk, and Speer—she offers biographical studies that succinctly analyze the character of these men and their reasons for devotion to the cause of National Socialism. What emerges is a picture of extremely competent specialists who were personally moral but who allowed their concern for national honor to lead them into oblique support of the vilest practices. Whether they were aware of the worst Nazi horrors is questionable, however.

Three main decisions marked the short-lived history of the Dönitz government. The first, Hitler's decision to appoint the admiral as chief of state, can be understood in terms of Hitler's hope that he would be able to rally support among the military for a continuation of the war. The second, the decision by Dönitz to end the war, was scarcely surprising, but it is interesting to observe how he used the remaining time to allow numbers of German troops to escape capture by the Russians. Eisenhower's decision to end the Flensburg government was probably

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inevitable, but it would seem to have been a consequence of Western military considerations rather than a decision made at the highest levels of government.

The author shows well how the military and civilian leadership slowly adjusted its thinking to the realities of 1945. Thus "unconditional surrender" was interpreted by some as being an "armistice." Some military leaders busied themselves with thoughts of constituting a necessary link between the occupation authorities and the German people. The memorandums of others show clearly the mentality of men breaking with the National Socialist past and trying to envision the future role of Germany. Hitleresque expectations of conflict between the Allies merge with less fervid estimations of the political situation. The question of whether Germany's future lay with the East or with the West vied with visions of a Germany permanently divided or weak hopes for the continuation of an independent Germany. The period marks not only the collapse of Nazi concepts but the emergence of ideas still much alive today.

Purdue University JAMES N. MCRANDLE

BAUSTEINE ZUR GESCHICHTE ÖSTERREICHS: VORGELEGT IN DER SITZUNG AM 24. JUNI 1966. [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Historische Kommission. Schriften des DDr. Franz Josef Mayer-Gunthof-Fonds, Number 4. Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, Number 125.] (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1966. Pp. 342. 264 Sch.)

THESE nineteen essays, with an introduction by Friedrich Engel-Janosi, and inscribed to Heinrich Benedikt on his eightieth birthday, vary widely in approach, method, and result.

Some involve a specific set of sources, as does Leo Santifaller's analysis of documents relating to the founding of the monastery of Lilienfeld in Lower Austria. Some deal with "negative" problems. Thus Erich Zöllner discusses why Henry III of England failed to marry the daughter of Leopold VI of Austria, and Engel-Janosi, in a graceful essay, explains why Bertha Szeps-Zuckerkandl could not persuade the Austrian government to make a separate peace in 1917. Curiously, only two essays deal with Benedikt's period of particular interest, the eighteenth century: Hugo Hantsch's account of the Schönborn family's Austrian connections, and Ernst Menhofer's summary of Thomas Nugent's travel guide. If any one theme binds these essays together, it is indeed that of travel. Grete Klingenstein, in an interesting introduction to her study of State Chancellor Kaunitz' great-grandfather, speaks of the importance of the grand tour for cultural history, and throughout the volume valuable insights are provided by travelers. We hear of Father Martino Martini's views of seventeenth-century China and of Leo Wilhelm Kaunitz' book buying habits in England, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands in the same period. Adam Wandruszka, in revealing the mine of information contained in the fifty-four volumes of Karl Moering's diary, writes not only of the latter's military career but also of Moering's excitement on first viewing Italy. Erika Weinzierl-Fischer shows Prince Aloys Liechtenstein's lordly contempt for the French during his travels through the German lines to Bordeaux in 1871. Even Ferdinand I wrote a travel diary on going from Olmütz

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to Prague after his abdication in 1848. Hanns Leo Mikoletzky uses this to imply that the Emperor was perhaps not as totally feeble-minded as his contemporaries believed. If Ferdinand I is the weakest of Austrian rulers discussed in this book, two more capable men stand at its beginning and end. From Heinrich Fichtenau's essay on the struggles of Duke Leopold V with Richard the Lion-Hearted to that by Gerald Stourzh on those of Karl Renner with the Allied Commission for Austria, we follow the remarkable unity, for all its diversity, of Austrian history.

Hunter College EDITH M. LINK

METTERNICHS PARISER BOTSCHAFTERZEIT. By *Manfred Botzenhart.* [Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, Number 10.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1967. Pp. x, 312. Cloth DM 39, paper DM 36.)

DR. Botzenhart's monograph about Metternich's service as Austrian ambassador to France from summer 1806 to the outbreak of war in 1809 is equally significant as a contribution to the diplomatic history of the period and to the biography of Metternich. Sources in the public archives at Paris, Vienna, and Munich, and the Metternich family documents now deposited in the Czechoslovak archives in Prague were widely used. The author offers an interesting reinterpretation of Metternich's objectives, particularly regarding his German policy.

The young ambassador emerges, in Botzenhart's study, as a cautious and discerning diplomat who, unlike the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Stadion, refrained from advocating a radical anti-French policy without adequate assurance of Russian support. Botzenhart's thesis of Metternich's cautious German policy, which, he maintains, was entirely free of prejudices and interests of a former *reichsunmittelbarer Standesherr,* is to a point in conflict with other valuable literature on the subject. The conclusion that, whatever Metternich's ulterior motives may have been, he acted during his difficult tenure as ambassador as a circumspect diplomat with well-reasoned political concepts is not controversial, and it is solidly backed by archival evidence. He realized that the regime in France would certainly not outlive Napoleon, and he comprehended fully the disastrous consequences of the debacle of Jena for Austria's future position. In principle he was aware also of the potential changes that Napoleon's adventurous Spanish policy might initiate. Indeed, Metternich's ambassadorial reports are not distorted by his natural preference of the regime; they express a thoroughly pragmatic approach to the new empire and its institutions.

The study of Metternich's early political life is particularly valuable because the ambassadorial reports and correspondence show him as he was and not the way he wanted to be seen in his *Denkwürdigkeiten.* While the notorious vanity of Metternich's later years certainly did not improve his image, still, a basic deduction is confirmed by this fine study. A diplomat who reaches top rank and maintains it for a whole generation must have had a good measure of common sense, faculties of accurate observation, precise expression, and long-range prognostication based on facts.

Rutgers University ROBERT A. KANN

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CALVIN'S GENEVA. By *E. William Monter.* [New Dimensions in History; Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1967. Pp. xv, 250. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.95.)

ALTHOUGH the city of Geneva does not lack native historians, some of the best work published recently about Calvin's city has been done by Americans. With the publication of *Calvin's Geneva,* William Monter has joined Robert Kingdon (*Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France* and coeditor, with J. F. Bergier, of *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin*) in establishing America's contribution to the Genevan field.

The book is not about Calvin but about his city—its revolt from Savoy and its bishop; its love-hate relations with its Bernese liberators; its church, presses, courts, refugees, and legislative bodies. And yet a book about Geneva in the last three-quarters of the sixteenth century cannot but reflect certain views about Calvin, whom Monter describes as "a brilliant mind and an undeviating will amidst the crude and confused surroundings of a revolutionary commune." It is accurate to say that Monter presents a positive although critical view of Calvin, without whom he believes Geneva would have been merely a decaying Alpine town in revolt from Savoy. Perhaps the Georgia Harkness era of English-speaking appreciation of Calvin is nearly over!

Monter's command of the materials is excellent. He has sifted through a multitude of often obscure books, monographs, articles, and manuscripts and arrived at a clarity of historical interpretation that has eluded *doyens* of the past, including A. Roget and H. Naef. For example, I did my doctoral dissertation on sixteenth-century Geneva, and, for the first time, I feel satisfied that I understand the reasons for Calvin's triumph over an often "un-Calvinistic" city and council. Monter also shows clearly that only one person (Servetus) died in Geneva for religious opinions, contrary to the common assumption. Further, he makes clear how the city shifted from the Swiss-Bernese sphere of influence to French, thus helping to explain Geneva's place in the world after Calvin and prior to the fall of the republic in 1798.

Although the author has published *in obscura* before (*Studies in Genevan Government, 1536–1605* [1964]), this excellent work forces me to applaud Monter's resolution that Genevan history is too interesting to be left to Genevans.

Michigan State University W. FRED GRAHAM

ASPETTI E MOMENTI DELLA VITA ECONOMICA DI ROMA E DEL LAZIO NEI SECOLI XVIII E XIX. By *Renzo De Felice.* [Storia ed economia, Studi, testi, documenti, quaderni, Number 13.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1965. Pp. 312. L. 4,800.)

LATIUM extends northwest and southeast from Rome on the shin of the Italian boot. In this excellent group of studies De Felice explores the region's agriculture, industry, and revolutionary ferment in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The longest section of the book deals with farming techniques and crops from 1750 to 1870 and draws principally on detailed economic reports prepared

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for the Napoleonic government in 1814 and for the kingdom of Italy in 1870. The "agricultural revolution," De Felice finds, was scarcely visible in Latium. Suggested innovations were opposed, ignored, or simply smothered with inertia by largely indifferent popes, torpid latifundian landlords, rapacious businessmen who rented fields and did not so much farm them as periodically "raid" them (as a French observer put it) with hordes of day laborers; the writers of farming manuals who quoted Vergil as an authority on techniques; and peasants who resisted innovations by saying, "My father never did it, my grandfather knew nothing of it," and who incubated silkworms in their beds or in the bodices of their wives' dresses. Even by 1870 continuous crop rotations were rare, peasants still scratched the soil with the same inefficient type of plow used two millenniums earlier in republican Rome, crops were only slightly better suited to the land than they had been in 1750 (less wheat and rice, more grapes, corn, and sugar beets), natural and artificial fertilizers were little used, and only a few landowners had the initiative and capital to import farm machinery.

In a vibrantly written section on the agricultural politics of the short-lived Roman Republic of 1798–1799 De Felice shows how a significant number of republican officials came to favor not only the abolition of primogeniture and entail but also the introduction of strongly progressive taxation and even the obligatory division of latifundia. Sales of confiscated land by the republic and then by the French imperial government were not, however, conducted so as to break up these latifundia; instead, the need for haste made both regimes sell the land in large chunks, and the principal gainers were military contractors and the uniquely Roman "country businessmen" (*mercanti di campagna*). This latter group of vigorous renters and exploiters of land were the "rising middle class" who gained from the whole revolutionary and Napoleonic period. They operated highhandedly and profitably as army suppliers, bought up confiscated lands, purposely took the less prestigious but economically powerful government offices, and had great influence on economic policies.

In the last third of the book De Felice somewhat ponderously surveys Roman industry and handicrafts in 1810. He believes that Roman industry suffered from a lack of skilled workers, the conservatism of the artisans, the economic isolation of the city, central Italian poverty that resulted in feeble local markets and inadequate stimulus for the development of high quality, exportable goods, scarcity of capital, competition from petty industry in the almshouses and private homes where labor costs were low, and the indifference of the papal government.

University of Pennsylvania JAMES C. DAVIS

AGRICOLTURA E CREDITO NELL'ESPERIENZA DEL BANCO DI SICILIA TRA L'800 ED IL '900. By *Giuseppe Lo Giudice*. [Studie ricerche della Facoltà di Economia, Number 3.] (Catania: Università degli Studi. 1966. Pp. 288. L. 2,500.)

IN modern Italian history the great "Southern Question" assumes a role only slightly less significant than the problem of sectionalism in American history. From the moment of the birth of the Italian Kingdom the problem of the Mezzogiorno, and Sicily in particular, threatened the viability and limited the co-

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hesiveness of the new state. The Duke of Castel-Cicala, who was the viceroy of Sicily when the union with Italy was achieved, expressed doubt that it would be permanent. Within Italy itself in the last decade of the nineteenth century can be found the regional polemic literature that descended to the racist level in condemning the so-called "feminine people" of Mediterranean ancestry in the south who were to be blamed for the defeat at Adowa as opposed to the "masculine people" of the north who had brought about the unification of the peninsula.

It is against this background that the impressive technical work by Giuseppe Lo Giudice on agriculture and credit as related to the activities of the *Banco di Sicilia* should be read. The first third of the book is devoted primarily to a general description of the underdeveloped state of Sicily as compared with the rest of Italy, particularly the north, at the time of unification. This is perhaps the most interesting part of the work for the nonspecialist in economic history and particularly in Italian agrarian history. It should be noted that in this portion of the work the effects of the economic crisis of 1873, which drove so many Italians to migrate to the Western Hemisphere, are treated. The difficulties of Italian agriculture in the southern regions, nevertheless, have roots that are much deeper than a single economic crisis. Lo Giudice points to the problems resulting from the destruction of the older feudal arrangements, the alienation of ecclesiastical and domanial lands, the effects of taxation, the concentration of land in fewer hands, and the fact that much land was actually removed from cultivation. All of these factors were important, and the relationship between the various elements is explained by the author. To these factors, however, the chronic shortage of capital and cheap credit for investment in agriculture must be added. The last half of this volume deals with a highly technical account of the operations and experience of the *Banco di Sicilia* in providing such capital and credit. In doing this the author gives a description of the evolution of agriculture in modern Sicily, the sources and use of capital, and the cooperation of banking and agriculture on the local level. The final chapter deals with the operations of the *Banco di Sicilia* in the critical period 1890–1930.

Actually, this volume represents a careful examination of one aspect of the great "Southern Question." This problem of the relationship of capital and credit to the agrarian economy of Sicily has fascinated economists and historians, but it has never been treated in such detail.

City College of New York HOWARD L. ADELSON

MUSSOLINI IL FASCISTA. Volume I, LA CONQUISTA DEL POTERE, 1921–1925. By *Renzo De Felice*. [Biblioteca di Cultura Storica, Number 92/I.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1966. Pp. 806. L. 6,000.)

THIS is the second installment of an expanding biography of Mussolini that will consist of at least five volumes. (For the first, *Mussolini il rivoluzionario,* see *AHR,* LXXII [Apr. 1967], 1027.) Professor De Felice's impressive research has placed the study of Italian politics in this period on a new and often firmer footing. The author has drawn extensively from reports of prefects and other documents in the *Archivio Centrale dello Stato* and *Archivio Storico* of the Foreign Ministry; the correspondence of such people as Filippo Turati; and numerous

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other sources. The unopened Vatican Archives remain the major untapped resource.

In seven lengthy chapters De Felice discusses agrarian Fascism and the formation of the national blocs in 1921; the ephemeral "pacification pact" of that year; the "legal" strike and victory of *squadrismo;* the march on Rome; the Fascist party's relations with other forces in 1922–1924; the Acerbo law and parliamentary elections of April 1924; and the crisis between the assassination of Matteotti in June 1924 and the *coup d'état* of January 3, 1925. A long appendix sets forth various party programs and other documents.

In dealing with the period before the march on Rome, De Felice stresses the lack of vision and immobility of Giolitti and other liberals, who thought that at the proper moment they could integrate the unruly postwar political currents into yet another variant of *trasformismo.*

The House of Savoy does not fare well in De Felice's analysis. It was the decision of Victor Emmanuel III alone on the morning of October 28, 1922, that prevented the Italian Army from moving against the Black Shirts. This decision did not result from the King's fear of his cousin, the Duke of Aosta, but rather from his timidity and realization that both his army leaders and ministers were only halfheartedly in favor of resistance. De Felice also takes the King to task for not dismissing Mussolini during the Aventine crisis.

One of the best sections is a fifteen-page excursus in Chapter v, wherein De Felice analyzes the personality of Mussolini at the time he took office and before he became a victim of his own myth. The author contends that Mussolini fell short of genuine leadership because he possessed no fixed goals, was too completely distrustful of his countrymen both individually and collectively, and was unable either to select or retain good lieutenants.

It is regrettable that the rest of the book is written more ploddingly. The personality of Mussolini often gets lost from view in the detailed discussion of politics. The reader who expects to find occasional references to Mussolini's personal life and his family will have to be satisfied with a five-line footnote. Author and publisher could have improved their book significantly by rigorous cutting. As it is, chapters average one hundred pages, paragraphs often go on for three pages, and sentences for half a page. A subject index rather than a mere list of people's names would greatly help the specialist, for whom this book is chiefly intended.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

1943: 25 LUGLIO–8 SETTEMBRE. By *Ruggero Zangrandi.* [I fatti e le idee, Saggi e biografie, Number 113.] (2d ed.; Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1964. Pp. 1183. L. 5,000.)

IN this ponderous tome, written in great detail with 875 pages of text plus numerous appendixes to cover the 45 days of Badoglio, author and collaborators showed great industry in sifting through Italian literature dealing with the period and in conducting interviews with Italian participants in the events described. After such an expenditure of effort, one might expect a monograph that would firmly establish most of the crucial facts of the period.

This is, unfortunately, not the case. The work falls far short of constituting

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a definitive study for two basic reasons: inadequacy of materials and faulty method. The Italian literature, supplemented with translated foreign materials, does not tell the whole story, which was three-sided: Italian, German, Anglo-American. German wartime documents are available in abundance, as well as full Allied documentation, and the real sources for many key developments are contained in these non-Italian materials. It will not do to suggest that all might have turned out well for Carboni and Badoglio if Eisenhower had consented to postpone announcement of the armistice for a few days. Had Badoglio not acceded to Eisenhower's demand that he keep his pledged word, he would have faced an ultimatum from Hitler next day. There are also Italian documents, gathered by the Germans in the *Aktensammelstelle Süd* and later seized by the US Army, of whose existence Zangrandi is only vaguely aware. The authors laboriously reconstructed the Italian order of battle of September 8. This was hard work in low-grade ores when pure metal lay just over the hill. The whole job could have been done accurately and in short order with the maps and tables that came from the *Comando Supremo*.

At many points Zangrandi has carefully adhered to the evidence and fully established the facts. But there are gaps in the record; there are actions that left little or no trace; there are aspects of the conduct of Badoglio and of the Italian high command where the official judicial inquiry failed really to probe. At such places Zangrandi resorts to extrapolation and invention. He insists on a secret understanding of Kesselring with Badoglio to permit the escape from Rome, but offers no evidence for such. He would have Castellano secretly aware that AVALANCHE was set for September 8 at Salerno; he pictures Castellano secretly communicating this intelligence to Ambrosio. At such places the narrative becomes intellectual hogwash.

Department of State HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

HUNGARIAN-JEWISH STUDIES. Edited by *Randolph L. Braham*. (New York: World Federation of Hungarian Jews. 1966. Pp. xiii, 346. $6.00.)

THE eight studies composing this volume offer a useful survey of Jewish life in Hungary from the earliest settlements in the Middle Ages to the accommodation with Communism in the last two decades. Although much of the story deals with prejudice and persecution, the authors have treated their respective subjects with admirable objectivity.

"The Family Tree of Hungarian Jewry" by Ernö Marton, describes the settlement of the Jews in Hungary through the middle of the eighteenth century. Ernö László's "Hungarian Jewry: Settlement and Demography, 1735–38 to 1910," is a detailed study, county by county, of the development of Jewish communities in Hungary. His sources are abundant and include the general censuses of 1785 and 1787, used here for the first time in Jewish scholarly literature. His painstaking accumulation of statistics will greatly assist other investigators, but I wish that he had given more attention to their analysis. In "Hungarian Jewry in Modern Times; Political and Social Aspects," Nathaniel Katzburg concerns himself with the political, religious, and economic emancipation of the Jews of Hungary in the nineteenth century. Especially interesting is his thesis that Jewish capital

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played a major role in the development of Hungary's industry, banking, and foreign and domestic commerce and a decisive one in liberating Hungary from economic dependence on Austria.

Béla Vágó's "The Destruction of the Jews of Transylvania" is a pioneer work. Well documented and based in part on archival material deposited in Jerusalem, it traces the successive stages by which the flourishing Jewish communities in northern and southern Transylvania were destroyed between 1940 and 1944. He concludes that, as a result of their tragic experiences during the war and emigration and assimilation afterward, the Jews of Transylvania are destined to disappear from the ethnic map of Rumania during the lifetime of the present generation. Randolph L. Braham has attempted a survey similar to Vágó's in "The Destruction of the Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia." His account is short, and his means are few.

Ilona Benoschofsky's "The Position of Hungarian Jewry after the Liberation" presents a rather bland and generalized account of the Jews' adjustment to Communism. Since religious affiliation is not a category in recent Hungarian censuses, the author has been unable to answer and indeed seems reluctant to discuss a number of important questions. In "Research Facilities in Hungary concerning the Catastrophe Period" Eugene Lévai has made a comprehensive survey of the chief depositories of documents dealing with Hungarian-Jewish history from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present. Scholars interested in other phases of Hungarian history will also find it useful. "Hebrew Poetry in Hungary" by Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger is a detailed enumeration of the authors of poetry in Hebrew in Hungary and their themes from the publication of the first work in 1805 to the last in 1942.

Although the articles vary in quality, together they help to fill the gap in scholarly literature caused by the absence of a modern general history of Hungarian Jewry.

University of Illinois KEITH HITCHINS

DIE POLITISCHEN PARTEIEN GRIECHENLANDS: EIN NEUER STAAT AUF DEM WEG ZUR DEMOKRATIE, 1821–1910. By *Hariton Korisis*. (Hersbruck: Verlag Karl Pfeiffer. 1966. Pp. viii, 230.)

MODERN Greek politics is in many ways as bewildering and confusing in its complexities and diffusion as French politics used to be. Hariton Korisis is absolutely right when he asserts that Greek politics cannot be understood apart from Greek political history, and his synthetic approach which draws upon the resources of both the social and physical sciences is embodied in a learned, fully documented, and closely printed book that gives us the first scholarly account of the political parties of modern Greece from their origin to 1910. Not only is the book a valuable source for understanding the political life and development of modern Greece, but it could also be used as a case study for those concerned with the investigation and promotion of the formation of political parties in the so-called emerging or underdeveloped countries of the world today.

In many ways the Greek situation is unusual: Greece was the birthplace of democracy and the idea of political freedom, but was subjected for many genera-

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tions to the rule of others (Romans, Byzantines, Turks); was part of and culturally dominated a world empire (the Byzantine); was in turn subject to a non-Western power (the Ottoman Empire) and heir to both a classical pagan and Byzantine Christian tradition; and was given a Bavarian as king in 1833 by the Great Powers when it became a modern nation. Korisis relevantly discusses the social structure and ideological orientation of the Greeks before independence, emphasizing, perhaps too repetitiously, that, in contrast to the West, there were no feudalism, no artistocracy, no serfdom, and no caste system in the East. From 1821 to 1825 there were no political parties but rather vague political trends or tendencies. The first party structure can be traced to 1825. From 1825 to 1855 Greek political parties were dominated by orientation toward France, England, and Russia, whose main purpose was the realization of the national ideal, except for the interval between 1835 and 1841, when no political party was permitted by King Otto.

The second period (1855–1882) discussed is that of the splinter parties (*das Mehrparteiensystem*) and is characterized by instability and corruption but also by a struggle for constitutional freedom and parliamentary democracy. The personality of the party leader usually determined the party itself.

The highlight of development of political parties falls in the period 1882–1910, which may be characterized as the era of the two-party system. This stage was dominated by the social and political reformer, Charilaos Trikoupis, with whom Greek politics finally established that political principles and ideology must survive the party leader and that greater party discipline of the members of Parliament must be achieved. This assured the survival of the party after the leader's death, and the election of a new leader assured the continuity of the party. Thus, with Trikoupis, national interest and ideology were placed in the foreground, and the political party became accepted as an institution of society in which the people could share directly or indirectly and in which political ideologies transcended individual persons or party leaders.

This work not only provides the fundamentals of the origin of Greek political parties, the tracing of their development from mere political currents, their struggle with dictatorial tendencies, the failure of leadership that lacked capability and experience, the establishment of democratic ground rules, the exercise and abuse of political freedom, and the resistance to foreign intervention; it also describes analytically and critically the role of social and economic factors and the nationalistic aspiration for integration with the pertinent ideologies that finally put modern Greece *auf dem Weg zur Demokratie* as Westerners would understand it.

Colgate University JOHN E. REXINE

THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL AWAKENING, 1878–1912. By *Stavro Skendi.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 498. $13.75.)

FEW persons are better qualified than Stavro Skendi to write on Albanian nationalism, and in this study of the period from the Congress of Berlin to Albanian "independence" (1912) he has contributed much that is new. Especially satisfying, particularly since many of his data are based upon research in Austrian, Italian, and French archives, is his treatment of Austro-Hungarian, Italian, and

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other Great Power rivalries. On the other hand, the book is too long, carelessly edited, overly ethnocentric, and insufficiently analytical.

Failing to define nationalism and not once entertaining the notion that conflicts between Albanians and neighboring Greeks and Slavs may have had other than purely "nationalist" foundations, he neglects the problem of nationalism as a superstructure and categorically denies any positive relationship between different Albanian approaches to nationalism and different economic interests. At the same time, he carefully portrays a variety of Albanian nationalisms—the particularism of the Roman Catholic and tribal north, the conservatism of the orthodox Muslim Albanians of Kosovo solicitous of their old privileges, and the liberalism of the Bektashi or heretical Muslims of the south—and contributes some fine chapters on the role of the Albanians of Italy (settled there since the fifteenth century) and of newer southern Albanian emigrants in Bucharest, Sofia, Cairo, and Boston, as agents of Albanian national consciousness. He also has some good chapters on the Young Turks and on the struggle for a national alphabet and national schools.

Skendi is blind, however, to socioeconomic problems. Ready with details on the national goals and political activities of individual Albanian landlords and appropriately noting their geographic concentration in the lowlands of the west (which he calls the south), he fails to observe that they constituted a special social category. Often favorably disposed toward Austria-Hungary, the landowning advocates of Albanian autonomy were not the greatest landlords but the great landowning families economically just beneath them and often allied to a portion of the Ottoman bureaucracy of Albanian origin: the Toptani, Vrioni, Vlora, Frashëri, and Bushati.

Similarly providing much intricate detail about individual members of the intelligentsia of the predominantly Orthodox town of Korçë, he insufficiently emphasizes Korçë's role as the "most European"—Richard Busch-Zantner's term—of Albanian cities and offers no systematic discussion of the way in which the Albanian city became a carrier of its own special brand of nationalism, often rivaling other nationalisms and "bourgeoisies" of the same city and of more distant urban centers.

Rutgers University TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

DIE KRISE DES PARLAMENTARISMUS IN OSTMITTELEUROPA ZWISCHEN DEN BEIDEN WELTKRIEGEN. Edited by *Hans-Erich Volkmann*. [Wissenschaftliche Tagung des Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrates, Frühjahr 1966, Referate und Discussionen.] (Marburg/Lahn: J. G. Herder-Institut. 1967. Pp. 184. DM 21.90.)

THIS interesting collection of essays, originally read at a conference of the J. G. Herder Institute, considers the functioning of parliamentary government in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the three Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Judging from the printed record of the discussions, the two papers on Czechoslovakia—one by Peter Burian and the other by Hans Lemberg—seem to have aroused the most comment, largely because of the problem of defining the role of the German minority in that state.

The editor apologizes in advance for the lack of uniformity in the form of the

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essays: three are extensively documented; one lacks even a bibliographical note at the end. In my opinion, nevertheless, this collection holds together far better than most such efforts. The discussions of course provide a certain cement: the authors note each other's comments and points of view, and the essays, while considering different subjects, are put in a logical order. In this way the reader is left with the feeling of having been presented with a systematic, comparative study of parliamentary government at least in the northern part of East Central Europe.

The recurrent themes in the papers and the discussions are the feasibility and limitations of the principle of national self-determination, the nature of the various political party systems, and the applicability of Western parliamentary organization to the social, economic, and national conditions of Eastern Europe. Historians and political scientists of other national backgrounds from this region may object to many of the interpretations offered, but the volume as a whole demands careful consideration.

My one major criticism of the collection centers on the problem of sources. A cursory survey of bibliographical notes came up with only one citation of an American author, this despite the rapidly growing American literature on East Central European affairs.

University of Wisconsin ALFRED ERICH SENN

EASTERN EUROPE IN TRANSITION. Edited by *Kurt London*. [Published in co-operation with the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies, the George Washington University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 364. $8.95.)

THIS symposium consists of papers read at the Fifth International Conference on World Politics, which was held in Noordwijk, in September 1965, under the sponsorship of the Netherlands Institute of Foreign Affairs and the Institute of Social Studies, both located in The Hague. The central topics discussed at the conference were the "transformation" of the Communist monolith, the growth of polycentrism, and the changing ideological, political, and social attitudes of Eastern Europe in recent years. Thirty-three scholars from ten countries participated in the conference, but no representatives of Eastern Europe were included, or, at least, no papers by Eastern Europeans were published. Hence, this is the Western assessment of recent developments in Eastern Europe.

The editor's introduction provides the crux of the discussion and summarizes the views held by the "majority" and the "minority" at the conference. There is nothing startling about their assessment of the East European "transformation" for those who have followed recent events closely, except that they do it with the authority that the scholarly reputation of the contributors commands. The majority view is that "nationalism is on the upsurge in East Central Europe" and that it is "generally characterized by the conversion of the ruling party to a communist patriotism which in some aspects coincides with the traditional patriotism of the masses." The result has been "a passive acceptance of the regimes by the population," which encourages "the regimes to seek greater independence from the Soviet Union." The minority view rejects the idea of "a communist nationalism" and argues that "the concept of class remains fundamental to communist re-

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gimes." The majority stresses the ethnic and other clashes among the peoples of Eastern Europe, despite their common ideologies and comparable social systems, and the minority insists that new values have emerged and that "there has been some progress in ethnic relations." Although the volume is weak on Yugoslavia's ethnic problems, the general impression of the contributors is that Yugoslavia "has lost much of its political reputation in East Central Europe" but that "its role as a model in the development of semimarket economies is growing." According to Professor London, the general tenor of the conference was that Western policy should be "peaceful engagement" (cultural exchange, financial credit, diplomatic maneuver) and "the extension and stabilization of the *détente* in the U.S.-Soviet relations." Concerning the future, for East Central Europe to "acquire greater independence" it will depend "on the state of East-West relations" and "on the long-range prospects for basic evolution within the Soviet Union."

The contributions are adequately documented and ably presented. Unlike most symposia, moreover, this one has an unusual degree of balance, and it is well edited. All contributions are of about the same size, and a consistent theme links them. This is a first-rate book.

Stanford University WAYNE S. VUCINICH

THE GEORGIANS. By *David Marshall Lang*. [Ancient Peoples and Places, Volume LI.] (London: Thames and Hudson; distrib. by Frederick A. Praeger, New York. 1966. Pp. 244. $7.50.)

THE latest volume in this long series, beautifully embellished with appropriate photographs, is a tour de force by its learned author. The professor of Caucasian studies in London University has succeeded eminently in compressing the long history of the Georgian people into a modest but important volume.

The Georgians of the Caucasus are one of the oldest and undoubtedly the "most markedly individualistic peoples of the Soviet Union." Their earliest history, as shown in their Neolithic culture, goes back to about 5000 B.C. They have lived on the wedge-shaped area between the Black Sea and the Caspian, a land of scenic beauty with rich natural resources, from time immemorial. To their north is the Caucasus range, and to their south lies historic Armenia. Today's Georgia is about thirty thousand square miles with over four million inhabitants. They call themselves *Kartvel-ebi,* and their land *Sa-kartvel-o.* The Arabs and modern Persians called them *Kurj* or *Gurj;* from these two forms the Europeans coined the name Georgians. Ethnically they are made up of numerous ancient tribes, the principal ones being the Mingrelians and the Svans, but the Georgian stock has always constituted the majority. They have their own language and a rich literature reaching back to the early Middle Ages. They possess their national culture, as shown in most recent archaeological discoveries and historical studies.

The Georgians, with the Armenians, have been the two Christian peoples in this non-Christian region, and they have clung to their Christian tradition. Among more than a score of peoples in and around the Caucasus whose "greatness and glory" did not survive the onslaughts of Asiatic hordes, the Georgians alone successfully maintained their kingdom until its annexation to tsarist Rus-

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sia in 1801. Even then these gifted, gallant, proud, flamboyant, and at times vainglorious people did not abandon their homeland, and today nearly all Georgians (about three million) still live within the confines of Soviet Georgia. The turbulent, colorful, and absorbing story of these charming people, from its beginning to early modern times, is herein set forth clearly and vividly, with sufficient annotations and an excellent bibliography by the leading authority of Caucasian studies in the West.

Library of Congress A. O. Sarkissian

RUSSIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT: AN INTRODUCTION. By *Thornton Anderson.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 444. $9.75.)

There is great need for a comprehensive and clear history of Russian political thought. Unfortunately, Mr. Anderson's book does not fill it at all. Of the two traditional approaches to the history of political ideas—philosophical, to some extent connected with the juridical, and institutional—he follows neither. He winds up with an ill-digested summary of Russian history in the earlier parts and a superficial description of some political notions in the second half of the book. In both cases his treatment leaves much to be desired: it is punctuated by minor inaccuracies of fact and by numerous imprecise and frequently faulty generalizations. While in the earlier chapters there is little discussion of "thought," the latter part of the book gives only confused and inadequate information on political background. Although much is made of the predominance and survival of full autocratic power, there is no indication as to how the autocracy worked and on what ideological presuppositions and traditions it rested. Chapter xv, "Official Ideology," does nothing of the sort. Thus a student never finds out either why there was opposition or why, given this opposition, the regime survived until 1917. Besides a superficial treatment of Tolstoi and Dostoevski that is unjustly negative because it misses the main points, there is no account of the formative role played by Russian literature in the history of political thought. Inadequate attention is paid to such vital institutional developments as serfdom, bureaucracy, imperial expansion in shaping political ideas.

As for analysis, better leave it at the bland assertion that it is woefully inadequate; it bespeaks Anderson's incredible political naïveté and inability to think himself into a historical context not his own. A detailed proof of this judgment would require more space than is available to me here or than the book deserves. One really wonders for what audience Anderson was writing: The beginner will be confused by lack of background information and poor organization; he will be misled by errors, faulty generalizations, and clichés. The advanced student, or the general historian, will not find much in it, except perhaps names of writers whose work he should read for himself or about whom he may consult monographs. The bibliography is useful but haphazard.

Columbia University Marc Raeff

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DEMOKRATICHESKAIA INTELLIGENTSIIA ROSSII V XVIII VEKE [The Democratic Intelligentsia of Russia in the 18th Century]. By *M. M. Shtrange.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 304.)

THIS work attempts to modify the notion commonly held by students of Russian intellectual history that the intelligentsia is first of all a nineteenth-century phenomenon and secondly that it derived almost exclusively from the gentry servicemen of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Disregarding such concepts as a "proto-intelligentsia" for the eighteenth century, Shtrange boldly asserts that the intelligentsia did indeed exist during the 1750's through the 1770's and that it was only repressed by the gentry "ruling class" during the last quarter of the epoch. Shtrange argues that the eighteenth-century intelligentsia was initially of *raznochintsy* origin, that the state apparatus created by Peter the Great indeed gave birth to these individuals who fitted neither into the gentry nor the serf-peasantry. After indicating the origin of the eighteenth-century *raznochintsy* (from sons of soldiers to sons of Orthodox clerics), Shtrange devotes the major portion of his work to those institutions that helped to frame the attitudes and ethos of the *raznochintsy*-intelligentsia: the Corps of Cadets, the Senate chancellery, the Academy of Sciences, and Moscow University. Most of these individuals were identified as belonging to the "tribe of Lomonosov" and sharing the broad attitudes of the Enlightenment so closely associated with that Russian universal genius.

Shtrange is weakest when discussing the class consciousness of the *raznochintsy* who, he believes, expressed the needs and aspirations of the underprivileged part of the population on the one hand, and whom he identifies as "bourgeois" on the other. Yet this is not an unqualified criticism, because Shtrange recognizes wide divergencies among the members of the *raznochintsy*-intelligentsia. Also Shtrange underestimates the role of the gentry as a group increasingly alienated from the state and seeking a new identity with the "people," a search that was to lead them to become *intelligenty,* such as the Westerners and Slavophiles of the early nineteenth century.

In general, Shtrange's work is useful for the intellectual historian because it illuminates a group of people who, while important, were actually less important than Shtrange was willing to admit in forming the Westernized and revolutionary intelligentsia of the nineteenth century. The value of the book is further enhanced by a list of works and translations published by the more prominent members of the *raznochintsy* in the eighteenth century and by an index of names.

University of Alberta MARTIN KATZ

THE BURNING OF MOSCOW, 1812. By *Daria Olivier.* Translated by *Michael Heron.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1966. Pp. 221. $6.95.)

NAPOLEON'S presence in and disastrous departure from Moscow during the autumn of 1812 provide the dramatic theme of this book. In it a myriad of personalities moves headlong toward the horrendous climax: the burning of Moscow. The narrative begins with Russian preparations to evacuate the city and Na-

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poleon's arrival, in mid-September, at its southern approach on the Sparrow (now Lenin) Hills; it concludes in late November on the Beresina with the Grand Army utterly shattered. Within this time span the reader is led into the confidences of the three principals of the drama—Napoleon, Kutuzov, and Moscow's governor, Rostopchin—and shares with them their schemes, dilemmas, and, above all, their torments arising from the city's inferno. The burning of the city, thought to be the work of Rostopchin, is rightly regarded as a decisive factor in the undoing of the French Emperor although Kutuzov shares with the governor honors for the French debacle.

The literary grace of Mrs. Olivier, who has two novels to her credit, comes through well even in translation. Extensive use of memoirs and correspondence enables her to breathe life into her characters. In contrast to Soviet scholars who have written on this subject, she has at once deleted the ideological and presented a truly human story in which suffering, compassion, hate—all that is the best and worst in men—come to the surface.

While professional historians may envy her artistry, they must criticize her method. The dust jacket notes that she has used "the enormous collecion of Russian documents made public in the U.S.S.R. on the sesquicentennial of 'the Patriotic War.'" The bibliography cites only two works of the voluminous Soviet endeavor. Although a concluding chapter is entitled "Who Burnt Moscow?" this is essentially an examination of the role of Rostopchin, not a thorough appraisal of the vast amount of historical literature on the subject.

Numerous illustrations, biographical vignettes in the appendix, and maps assist the reader although the Moscow map contains inaccuracies. For the most part footnotes have been omitted in deference to the literary objective. Although the book illumines little, it should find a receptive market among well-informed laymen and curious undergraduates.

University of Bridgeport ALBERT J. SCHMIDT

THE TRIUMPH OF BOLSHEVISM: REVOLUTION OR REACTION? By *Stuart Ramsay Tompkins*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 331. $5.95.)

PROFESSOR Tompkins' postscript to his earlier work on the intellectual history of modern Russia is a worthy conclusion to a fruitful scholarly career carried well beyond retirement age.

This volume represents a loosely organized group of essays rather than a closely reasoned thesis. It starts with the differences between Russian and Western civilization and runs through the development of the Russian revolutionary movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ending with the Bolshevik victory in 1917. Throughout the author draws on a lifetime of reading in the relevant sources as well as in Russian literature. He offers many apt observations and insights on such things as the change of meaning suffered by Western terms and concepts in the Russian setting. He also offers some historical material not otherwise available in English, as, for instance, in his long chapter on revolutionary party programs for the late 1870's to the Revolution of 1905. Like

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other essayists the author occasionally overshoots his mark; his conclusions, while not always convincing, are never dull.

As for the main story, the triumph of Bolshevism is not traced here in what one might consider the total formative context, but rather in terms of the Russian revolutionary movement alone. To be sure, the author repeatedly stresses the Russian tradition of an overweening guardianship of the state over a people not considered ready for modern citizenship, but he does not spell out the consequences for the shaping of an effective political opposition. And while he does not idealize the last decades of the tsarist regime, he does believe that "with the grant of a constitution open political activity became possible." The conspiratorial politics of the Bolsheviks were no longer justified after 1905.

There is perhaps an ambiguity embedded in the course of his argument. The author emphasizes, in an objective spirit, the differences between Russian and Western civilization; he even shows that Lenin was part of the Russian scene, speaking to the Russian condition more effectively than his rivals. Yet he ends by likening the Bolsheviks to Milton's Satan. The question raised in the subtitle, whether Bolshevism was revolutionary or reactionary, is never even touched on except in the conclusion, where Tompkins, guilty for once of word twisting himself, asserts that Lenin promoted counterrevolution. For the basic explanation of the Bolshevik triumph he falls back on the time-honored conspiratorial view of modern Russian history: Lenin carried the tradition of Nechaev to its logical perfection and, thanks to the German millions, to victory.

Washington University THEODORE H. VON LAUE

RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION, 1890–1918. By *Lionel Kochan.* ([New York:] New American Library. 1966. Pp. xiii, 352. $6.95.)

RUSSIA 1917: THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION. By *George Katkov.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 489. $8.50.)

THE fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution has begun to yield an abundant harvest of historical literature. These two samples, however, for all their merits, reveal that much remains to be done if we hope to understand the complex events of 1917. Kochan's book, though interestingly written with many well-chosen quotations, traverses familiar ground while providing few novel facts or interpretations. Divided into twenty-two short chapters, it is an uneven work whose central theme, the impact of industrialization on a peasant and artisan society, is never adequately developed. The source references (relegated to the back pages) are drawn from extensive but haphazard reading, and the inconveniently arranged bibliography omits some of the most significant works that have appeared in recent years.

Where Kochan hastily surveys a whole generation of sweeping changes in Russian society, Katkov's much longer and more valuable book focuses sharply upon the February Revolution and the wartime crisis that precipitated it. Based on prodigious research, Katkov's fresh and detailed narrative succeeds admirably in evoking the atmosphere of intrigue and confusion that pervaded the Winter Palace on the eve of the uprising. Unfortunately, however, there is no attempt to

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analyze, as Kochan does, the sources of unrest among the peasants, workers, and national minorities, to which the collapse of the tsarist order must ultimately be traced. Bent on shattering the "myth" that the February Revolution was a spontaneous explosion of mass discontent, Katkov creates a new myth of his own: that behind a movement of such proportions there had to be some "directing power."

Katkov, in fact, blames the Revolution on not one but several groups of political conspirators, above all Russian Freemasons who undermined the government from within and German agents who instigated the workers' riots that brought about the Tsar's abdication. In each case Katkov stretches his tiny strands of evidence into grotesque and sinister shapes. The fact that several leaders of the Duma opposition were Masons scarcely warrants Katkov's dark conclusion that "a widespread net" of conspiratorial lodges worked in concert to overthrow the autocracy. Nor can one agree that German agents engineered the February Revolution when one does not know how much "German gold" actually reached Russia or how it was put to use and with what effects. Katkov has convinced himself that the lack of documentary evidence on these crucial points merely strengthens his case by demonstrating the high efficiency of the Kaiser's agents, who managed so deftly to cover up their tracks.

Not many scholars will share Katkov's unrelieved contempt for Guchkov and Rodzianko, the archvillains of his drama, and fewer still will accept his portrait of their alleged victim, Nicholas II, as a ruler of serene intelligence and patient dignity. This is, nonetheless, a provocative, intensely personal book, powerful and absorbing for all its idiosyncrasy, a work of genuine and lasting importance.

Russian Institute, Columbia University PAUL AVRICH

POLITIKA TSARIZMA PO RABOCHEMU VOPROSU V PREDREVOLIUTSIONNYI PERIOD (1895–1904) [The Policy of Tsarism on the Labor Question in the Prerevolutionary Period (1895–1904)]. By *A. F. Vovchik*. ([Lvov:] Izdatel'stvo L'vovskogo Universiteta. 1964. Pp. 321.)

VOVCHIK's book displays the lack of imagination and massive obeisance to Lenin that one expects from a Soviet work on an aspect of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Its value lies in its wealth of archival material. There are numerous excerpts from hitherto unpublished policy statements of the leading tsarist statesmen, chiefly Witte, Sipiagin, and Sviatopolk-Mirsky, and a rich offering of documents illuminating the feud between the Ministries of Finance and Internal Affairs. Of particular interest is a memorandum from early 1906 referring to Witte's repeated insistence that Gapon's organization be revived. Vovchik reviews all the factory legislation of the period. He covers everything from pension laws to regulations governing the use of Cossacks to break picket lines and offers much material relating to the enactment of the laws.

University of Maryland GEORGE L. YANEY

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905: THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND THE FORMATION OF BOLSHEVISM AND MENSHEVISM. By *Solomon M. Schwarz*. Translated by *Gertrude Vakar*. [The History of Menshevism. Hoover Institution Publications, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 361. $8.95.)

PROLOGUE TO REVOLUTION: NOTES OF A. N. IAKHONTOV ON THE SECRET MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, 1915. By *Michael Cherniavsky*. [Russian Civilization Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1967. Pp. 249. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.95.)

THE Schwarz volume is prefaced by a clear and judicious nineteen-page essay by Leopold H. Haimson, the moving spirit in the entire project on "The History of Menshevism," of which the book is a product. Schwarz's own study, 245 pages long, seeks to study the "interaction" between Russian social democracy, both Bolshevik and Menshevik wings, in 1905 and the mass labor movement. The narrative begins in late 1904 and ends abruptly in early December, surprisingly before the Moscow uprising. There follow eight appendixes, which are actually short articles on various events and problems of the Revolution of 1905 and total 108 pages. Schwarz writes as a man who became a Menshevik, looking back on the period when he participated in events as a Bolshevik. The picture he paints is of a lack of understanding between the workers and Social Democratic leaders. He himself, frustrated in efforts to develop an independent labor movement in Russia, became alienated from the Bolsheviks during the period he describes. As for the opportunities that arose for open labor activity, such as the elections planned by the Shidlovskii Commission and the formation of Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the Mensheviks were always ready to use them (with reservations), the Bolsheviks distrustful or hostile to such tactics. The tortuous doctrinal and tactical debates within the Social Democratic party consume much of Schwarz's narrative, though he suggests their irrelevance to the unfolding drama of the urban masses drawn into action. Some interesting vignettes appear in the appendixes: Schwarz shows, for example, that not only was the claim that Stalin led the Baku strike of December 1904 false, as Soviet writers now admit, but that the Bolsheviks *opposed* the whole strike. Gertrude Vakar's translation is smooth and clear, and inaccuracies are rare—"census constitution" renders what must be *tsenzovaia konstitutsiia,* meaning a "constitution based on limited suffrage." Altogether the volume contributes substantially to our understanding of an important problem and period.

Prologue to Revolution consists of 222 pages of notes on the secret portions of the meetings of the Russian Council of Ministers from July 24 to September 2, 1915, published in Russian in 1926 and here translated into English and accompanied by a twenty-page introduction, brief conclusion, and short bibliography of chiefly Western-language materials. What is covered is thus mainly the council's reaction to the August crisis that followed the great and successful German offensive of the summer, in particular to the assumption of the supreme military command by Nicholas II himself and the formation of the Progressive Bloc. Mr. Cherniavsky intends the volume to show the "psychological pre-condi-

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tion of revolution in *the government,* in *the ruling class,"* that is, awareness on high of "proximate catastrophe." The catastrophe was not, in fact, immediate. In 1916 the military situation improved markedly, and a successful Russian counteroffensive against Austria took place; this fact is nowhere mentioned. The translation has its rough spots, and there are errors in both text and notes: the patronymic of Prime Minister Goremykin is given wrong twelve times; A. D. Samarin was not the son of the "famous Slavophile writer," who was Iurii, not Dmitrii; a *desiatina* is 2.7, not 2.4 acres; Stolypin became Prime Minister in 1906, not 1907. A thorough review of the apparatus would be desirable if this volume is reprinted.

University of Washington DONALD W. TREADGOLD

JOURNAL D'UN DIPLOMATE EN RUSSIE (1917–1918). By *Louis de Robien.* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1967. Pp. 345. 18 fr.)

APPROPRIATELY timed to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, the publication of a fresh volume of memoirs treating Russia during the crisis years 1917–1918 is a pleasant surprise. Although specialists will not encounter any strikingly new information on the revolutionary era, the vast array of detail in Count Louis de Robien's *Journal* can be compared profitably with older sources such as the recollections of Maurice Paléologue and Sir George Buchanan. Equally valuable is an inside glimpse into the personalities, opinions, and miscalculations of Western diplomats and officials caught up in events that they could not turn to the advantage of their own nations.

The author died in 1958, and his private papers remained a family possession for nearly another decade. De Robien entered the French diplomatic corps through the *concours* of May 1914 and was promptly sent to St. Petersburg as an attaché. Only twenty-six years old when he arrived in Russia, De Robien finally departed via Archangel in December 1918. His role within the French embassy was minor, but his view from the sideline was generally perceptive and sometimes prophetic.

Like most Western observers, De Robien viewed the revolution and Russian working-class representatives in the light of his own background. He tended, for example, to see the convulsions shaking Russia as a repeat performance of the French Revolution, with the Bolsheviks all too neatly playing the Jacobins of 1793–1794 on a Russian stage. And his sense of detachment deserted him when French Marxists like Marcel Cachin, Ernest Lafont, and Marius Moutet visited Russia on a socialist fact-finding trip, leading De Robien to the sarcastic comment, "quel ambassadeurs!" Only Albert Thomas, the Socialist Minister of Munitions who attempted to keep Russia active in the war during the spring of 1917, received kinder words. Thomas, noted De Robien, was a remarkable person "for a socialist."

The most disturbing aspect of the *Journal* concerns the obvious, but anonymous, editing of De Robien's account. The publisher would have done well to indicate who was responsible for the editing, why the gaps between entries are

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so uneven, and whether or not the text as it appears is still in its original form. Even so, this intriguing *Journal* is a valuable addition to the existing literature on the revolutions in Russia, and it can be hoped that further portions of his papers will be published in the future.

Arizona State University W. E. Adams

THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION: RUSSIA, 1917–1967. By *Isaac Deutscher.* [The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge, January–March 1967.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. 115. $3.75.)

Only the second and third lectures in this collection of six are worth serious, if qualified, attention. They deal stimulatingly with the continuity of the Revolution and with the evolution of Soviet social structure. Deutscher ascribes the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR to the demise of the heroic, revolution-making proletarians in the civil wars. Without proletarians, it remained for the bureaucracy and ultimately for Stalin to lead Russia from rural stagnancy to rapid industrialization and urbanization. Overcoming the sluggish labor rhythm of the muzhik required harsh punishments and prison camps. The government's anticonsumptionist policy added further miseries, but tens of millions nevertheless received education and industrial skills. The newly created and rapidly expanding working class remained, meanwhile, divided within itself by the varying formative factors that stamped each period's segment as it was propelled onto the industrial scene. The workers, therefore, have not yet been able to make common cause against the bureaucrats. But the pledges of 1917 continue to be made, the commitment to socialism remains, and industry is attempting to satisfy popular needs. Given the continuing growth of education and the fact that the bureaucracy, having no foundation in property, is not really a "New Class," as Djilas describes it, Deutscher likes to think that the workers may someday rise again.

But can a population, terrorized en masse by Stalin, demoralized anew by "the failure of the official de-Stalinization," and unable to "read a single trustworthy account of the events" whose fiftieth anniversary "they are celebrating" really be expected to revitalize the traditions of the democratic revolution and to grope its way back to the lost paradise of 1917? And supposing, *mirabile visu,* that this came to pass? What then?

Deutscher considers the "ideas of 1917" to have been debased by Stalin, who also distorted Marxism, that "most critical and irreverent of doctrines." But were not the "ideas of 1917" already Lenin's distortions of Marxism? And even assuming they were truly Marxist, were they, therefore, beyond criticism? Deutscher, like his teacher, Marx, is far less myopic observing history in the making than when he is viewing the past or peering into the future.

City College of New York Stanley W. Page

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RUSSIA, BOLSHEVISM, AND THE VERSAILLES PEACE. By *John M. Thompson.* [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. vii, 429. $11.50.)

PROFESSOR Thompson has made an important contribution to the literature both of the Peace Conference and of the Russian Civil War which raged while the statesmen deliberated at Paris. There are, in fact, two other books on the same subject: Boris E. Shtein's *"Russkii Vopros" na Parizhskoi Mirnoi Konferentsii, 1919–20* [The "Russian Problem" at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919–20] (1949), a heavily polemical, anti-Western tract written in the period of high Stalinism; and Arno J. Mayer's brilliant new work, *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking: Containment and Counterrevolution at Versailles, 1918–1919* (1967), which was unavailable to Thompson. In a sense, both Shtein and Mayer represent one pole of an argument and Thompson another. The first pole is suggested by Mayer's subtitle. Although in style of argument and use of evidence their two works are not even remotely similar, both Shtein and Mayer argue that the problem of Russia, and therefore that of Bolshevism, was the central problem at Paris; all others were more or less directly related. To make sense of the seemingly disparate and unconnected events of the Peace Conference, therefore, one must place them in the larger history of the counterrevolution which was born the moment the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia.

Thompson (and I) would disagree. At one point in his concluding chapter Thompson states his contention that "the Russian problem was by no means a major preoccupation of the peacemakers. Their attention was fixed on the settlement with the Central Powers and on the establishment of the League of Nations." And at another point he asserts: "The fear of Bolshevism may thus have had less effect on the peacemaking than is sometimes thought. . . . it would be difficult to prove that Bolshevism affected the general structure of the Versailles settlement in major ways." To draw the opposite conclusion, Thompson argues, is to minimize the divisions among the Big Four and vastly to overrate the degree to which tired, harried men could concert and coordinate strategies for dealing with the many urgent problems they faced.

This is not to imply that Thompson's work is a sustained argument of such a thesis (or, really, antithesis); nor is it to suggest that it should have been. Unlike Mayer's immensely ambitious attempt to explore the domestic politics and foreign policies of all the states involved in the war, Thompson's is essentially a monograph that traces, step by step, the handling of the Russian question at Paris. It is based primarily on the published records of the Peace Conference and on two sets of unpublished records: those of the American delegation and of its individual members, and those of the Russian Political Conference, the coordinating committee that claimed, with some success, to be the official spokesman for the anti-Bolshevik cause. It is understandable that Thompson desired to make maximum use of these two large bodies of unpublished materials. No others of comparable importance were available to him; the British government, for example, had not yet reached its decision to abandon its fifty-year rule. But as a result he assigned to both groups, the Americans and the anti-Bolshevik Russians, an importance they do not really deserve. Thompson's lengthy analysis

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of President Wilson's views on Russia and Bolshevism is shrewd and to the point, but Wilson did not, as Thompson argues, play the "key role." Similarly, although his detailed and fascinating examination of the factional politics of the anti-Bolshevik movement is perhaps the most valuable single feature of his book, the Russian Political Conference by and large failed to impinge itself on the minds and consciences of the heads of government gathered at Paris.

This being noted, it should also be said that Thompson's book abounds with penetrating insights and observations; most of his chapters conclude with tightly written analytical paragraphs of great interest to any student of the Peace Conference or of the Russian turmoil. Other writers, using materials unavailable to Thompson, will challenge his perspective, but they will have no need to retrace his steps.

Princeton University RICHARD H. ULLMAN

THE TWO FACES OF CO-EXISTENCE. By *Alfreds Berzins.* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons. 1967. Pp. xii, 335. $6.00.)

THE author of this interesting book discusses Lenin's attitude toward capitalism and democracies, the use of peace, friendship, and nonaggression pacts as the tools of Soviet expansionist policy and pays particular attention to the Soviet policy toward Poland, Finland, Hungry, and the Baltic and Balkan States, as examples. In the succeeding chapters he discusses the Communist strategy and tactics according to Stalin and the Soviet policy of coexistence after Stalin. Much of the information is already known to scholars, but its arrangement and Berzins' comments deserve attention.

The author ridicules the new breed of scientists, the so-called Kremlinologists, whom he compares to the latter-day soothsayers. Berzins, in contrast to some of the Kremlinologists, is more interested in what the Soviet texts say than in what they leave unsaid. He is amazed at the full-scale attention of some Kremlinologists to the activities of the men in the Kremlin and their complete disregard for the many non-Russian nationalities forced to live under the rule of the Kremlin bosses.

Berzins warns the readers that the Soviet leaders have regarded and still openly regard the policy of coexistence only as a sometimes convenient method to foster their political aims. Whenever and wherever this policy is to their disadvantage, they retreat from it. The author points out that so far the policy of coexistence has been largely a one-way street to the great disadvantage of the non-Communist world, with its gates wide open to all sorts of Communist propaganda. Western opinions and Western culture have made little progress in the Communist world because of the obstacles placed in their way.

The author suggests mutual scientific and cultural cooperation and direct people-to-people contacts. He condemns complete opening of the gates of the non-Communist world without reciprocal action on the part of the Communists. He also condemns the predominant practice of huge concessions in order to buy small favors from the men in power in the Communist countries.

The book is well documented, but a little disturbing is the author's indiscriminate use of the cliché "Free World versus the Communist World." No one

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would ever consider the present governing systems of such areas as Haiti, the republics of Congo, Syria, Paraguay, and others as a part of the "Free World." There are a few mistakes: the Latvian-Soviet Russia peace treaty was not signed at Moscow, but in Riga; the duchy of Courland was absorbed by Russia in 1795, not 1796. The arrangement of an otherwise impressive bibliography is a bit unorthodox. All in all, the book merits attention and is well worth reading, as is Berzins' preceding book, *The Unpunished Crime.*

San Jose State College EDGAR ANDERSON

SOVIET POLICY-MAKING: STUDIES OF COMMUNISM IN TRANSITION. Edited by *Peter H. Juviler* and *Henry W. Morton.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xiv, 274. $6.50.)

OF the eight contributors, only two are historians; a third, Peter Viereck, might be included if he did not defy such oversimplified categorization. Their essays are in the nature of case studies to document the thesis that the Soviet Union is a society with pluralistic political tendencies that influence policy decisions. The thesis is no longer new; it is evident in the work of John N. Hazard, and C. E. Black was able to observe the procedure for conflict of interest resolution in the presession work of standing committees of the Supreme Soviet as a member of a group sent to observe Soviet elections nearly ten years ago. That the decision-making structure is far from monolithic has been the theme of several political scientists, notably Alfred G. Meyer (*The Soviet Political System: An Interpretation* [1965]) and more recently Michael P. Gehlen (*The Politics of Coexistence: Soviet Methods and Motives* [1967]).

The first essay, Henry W. Morton's "The Structure of Decision-Making in the USSR: A Comparative Introduction," points out that the difference between the Soviet and Western process is one of degree and provides the framework for examining the pluralistic tendencies in the apparent monolithic political organization of the Soviet Union. "Family Reforms on the Road to Communism," by Peter H. Juviler, is an excellent illustration of the general thesis and interesting in its own right. By far the longest essay (nearly one-third of the book) is Robert M. Slusser's "America, China, and the Hydra-Headed Opposition: The Dynamics of Soviet Foreign Policy." In a sense, Slusser has to invert the method of the others and impute evidence from overt actions. Since for the most part it is possible to document factional alignment in the Communist party of the Soviet Union only by inference from association of persons or policies, the author has to assert relationships that explain the known results. There is room for honest disagreement on interpretation here; Slusser develops a persuasive case, but many historians will long for better than circumstantial evidence. Until then they are faced with accepting such statements as: "the identification of Shelepin as an oppositionist and factionalist as early as the end of 1959 cannot be conclusively proven; the assumption that he was one, however, helps make sense of some otherwise baffling enigmas in Soviet history during the Khrushchev era, and casts a flood of light on the inner course of Soviet politics."

Oregon State University GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

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Near East

MUSLIM CITIES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *Ira Marvin Lapidus*. [Published under the auspices of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 307. $7.50.)

THIS monograph is an important and pioneering study of "social structure and political processes" and the "dynamic interactions between different classes and groups of the populations which created communal and political order" in Syrian cities, particularly Damascus and Aleppo, in the Mamluk era from the mid-thirteenth to the early sixteenth century; some remarks on Cairo are also included. City life is considered in terms of the "actions and relationships between. . . various elites and groups of residents, rather than in terms of formal governmental or communal institutions. . . ." The writer has chosen an important viewpoint of "cities as process rather than cities as form." The work, therefore, is not exactly what its title implies; rather it complements previous monographs on Syrian cities of the period and at the same time suggests itself as a principal analytical model. Should the reader want a composite view of those cities, or should he wish to consider their topography, certain administrative institutions, intellectual life, and so forth, he may quickly find such works in this book's excellent bibliography, now the best single assemblage of materials on its subject.

After opening with a discussion of the need to reconsider the formerly popular dichotomy conceived as the Western European self-governing commune and the "eastern" bureaucratically administered city, the author then presents "a brief history of [Syrian] cities in the Mamluk Empire. . . [and] the political and economic environment of Muslim urban life in this period. Then, in subsequent chapters, the roles of the Mamluk elite, the structures of the Muslim urban community, and the manner in which its various elements interacted with each other and with the Mamluks" are presented. The principal other groups studied are the merchant elite, the ulama, and the lower classes including the "lumpenproletarians." In his conclusion the author returns to the theme of avenues for comparison with Western medieval European cities, though a useful focus would have been to underline the need for comparisons of institutions of medieval "Mediterranean" cities of the period, particularly Byzantine or Byzantine-influenced cities.

The work makes a number of important points and suggests interesting conclusions that no future student of the field can ignore. Readers familiar with previous literature will note departures from some prevailing views. The author emphasizes the importance of the Mamluk ruling "households" in the life of the city. He indicates clearly how the whole postcaliphal development of the military slave caste and the "family" (patronage/retainer) system actually operated, and its effect on the social and political attitudes of property owners, artisans, and others of the time. The role of other groups in the city must be seen in the context of their relationship to the Mamluks, economically as well

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as politically and socially. Evidence is presented that long-distance ("oriental") trade had less economic impact and was of less significance for urban prosperity than the effect of the Mamluk households. Although the Syrian city had for some time been divided into quarters, ghetto-type isolation at least in periods of calm was not as important in the Mamluk period as has often been assumed. Demand for change and mob disorders (which often seem to have been directed and controllable) were never aimed at altering the fundamental patterns, but only at ameliorating specific grievances. Departing from previous analyses, the author states that "no intermediary bodies such as guilds existed for the expression of economic or social interests which cut across class lines but which were not the concern of the community as a whole." He points out, however, the growing importance and the coalescing of Sufi institutionalization with various groups among the lower social classes, a process needing more study by Islamic social historians. In discussing the still-unsettled question of Islamic guilds after the twelfth century, the author might again have suggested that Byzantine analogues rather than Western European functions and institutions offer illuminating comparisons.

But the principal aim of the study is well fulfilled, and the author offers excellent insights into how the city society actually functioned. Not institutional forms but a "loose interplay of prestige, influence, and authority" mark the political and social system. Yet he warns the reader: "The regime did not govern from without, but merged political control with economic and social roles. Regime and society did not confront each other. . . , rather they permeated each other. . . ." Appendixes list new building constructions and rebuildings, and also various waqfs and their sources of income. The reader may wish for more specific clarification of terms in both appendixes and text. This book contains a wealth of important information. The author's obviously careful sifting of an immense amount of material sets a high standard for all future writing in Islamic urban studies. In short, it is by far the most important work on its subject yet to appear.

University of Chicago REUBEN W. SMITH

EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT, 1516–1922: A POLITICAL HISTORY. By *P. M. Holt.* ([London:] Longmans. 1966. Pp. xii, 337. 42*s.*)

SHOULD political history be primarily political narrative or a study of the major political institutions and their interaction, over time, with economic and social factors? Professor Holt's answer to this fundamental problem—to lean heavily on the narrative approach in this work—has many justifications and a long line of predecessors, but it may disappoint many of his readers. The subject he has chosen is intrinsically important, and much of it is still little known: the history of the Arab lands of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent during the Ottoman period (1516–1922). Holt's qualifications for this task are impressive. He has written the standard work on the Sudanese Mahdiyah period, and his articles in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* mainly on Ottoman Egyptian history, are extremely important. One cannot deny the contribution he makes in this volume. He has sifted through numerous secon-

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dary sources in European languages and Arab chronicles to provide a succinct and accurate account of the main events of this period. If nineteenth-century Egyptian history and the diplomacy of World War I and its aftermath in the Near East are well known, he has enhanced our understanding of these episodes by his attention to detail and his objectivity. Of greater significance is his treatment of the not so extensively researched periods of Arab history: the Arab lands from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century before the impact of modernization as well as Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon in the nineteenth century.

These virtues notwithstanding, the work can be criticized for being much like a chronicle. The presentation of sixteenth- through eighteenth-century Arab history is severely political and chronological. The reader is left to speculate about the interaction of economic and other factors with political events. Perhaps this gap is unavoidable, given the state of our knowledge. The efforts to provide detailed chronological coverage, in this instance, detract from a rigorous examination of political institutions during the Ottoman period. What political similarities and differences can be discerned throughout the loosely structured Ottoman Empire? How is the so-called modern period different, politically, from the earlier era? It is not that these questions are completely ignored, but that they are generally raised obliquely. The author notes a tendency in the Ottoman period for societies to polarize into two rival factions. This is an interesting and important observation, but again the reader is left to speculate about its reasons. Is it because of Muslim and Ottoman attitudes toward power and opposition? Is it because of geography and the existence of areas where factions could seek refuge from the authority of the groups in power?

Princeton University ROBERT L. TIGNOR

THE PROVINCE OF DAMASCUS, 1723–1783. By *Abdul-Karim Rafeq*. (Beirut: Khayats. 1966. Pp. xv, 370. $8.00.)

DURING the fifty-year period covered by this book, three generations of the ʿAẓm family governed the province of Damascus in the name of the Ottoman Sultan for a total of some thirty-eight years. This singular circumstance is the focus of Abdul-Karim Rafeq's detailed and thoroughly documented essay on the history of Damascus and its environs during the eighteenth century.

This city was important to the Sultan. It was the staging area of the annual caravan of pilgrims from the north and east making their required journey to the Holy Cities of Islam, and any interference in the passage of this caravan was an intolerable blow to the religious prestige of the Padishah. That the four ʿAẓm viziers secured the safety of the pilgrimage, then a responsibility of the Damascus governor, was a commanding reason for their unusually long tenures. Yet essential to every high Ottoman official in those venal days was a vast sum of money with which to pay mercenaries, to buy the Sultan's favor, and to blunt local criticisms. Drawing on the important European consular communications and a large number of local histories in Arabic, Rafeq has adduced circumstantial evidence to connect the immense wealth of the ʿAẓms with the shift in European trade from Aleppo to southern Syria. The loss of

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important revenues in Palestine, first to Ẓāhir al-'Umar and then to Aḥmad al-Jazzār, he concludes, was largely responsible for the eclipse of the governorate of Damascus and the 'Aẓm family with it. A study of the Ottoman land registers and revenue accounts for the region may in the future substantiate with necessary detail this significant inference.

Within the framework of an essentially political history Rafeq, a Syrian with a deep but muted empathy for his subject, has rendered a valuable service by his research into the administration of the city, his explanations of Arabic phrases then used as equivalents of Ottoman technical terms, and a wealth of incidental information gleaned from his meticulous research. His interest in the 'Aẓm family, however, leaves the social and economic changes in Damascus as a subsidiary theme. On the other hand, to concentrate on those 'Aẓms who ruled Damascus gives less than full weight to the roles of those members who governed elsewhere in Syria. 'Aẓm history is Syrian history, not Damascene history alone.

University of North Carolina HERBERT L. BODMAN, JR.

RELIGION AND REBELLION IN IRAN: THE TOBACCO PROTEST OF 1891–1892. By *Nikḳi R. Keddie.* ([London:] Frank Cass and Company; New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 163. $6.50.)

OPIUM, whisky, and tobacco have played an important political role in various times and places. So have protests against them. One protest involving tobacco led to a boycott of smoking in Iran even more dramatic than the "smoking riots" of 1848 in Milan. The highly effective boycott was part of a general Iranian agitation against foreign concessions and in particular against a monopoly on the production, sale, and export of tobacco granted in 1890 to an Englishman, Major Talbot. The Shah was soon forced to cancel the concession.

Professor Keddie investigates the origins and course of the tobacco protest movement, as well as its implications for the constitutional movement of 1905–1906. The main outlines of the protest are well known, and new information on the story of the *Régie,* as the tobacco monopoly was named, has recently appeared in Ann Lambton's two articles in *Studia Islamica* (nos. 22, 23, 1965), based largely on Foreign Office records. The virtue of Keddie's study is to supply much more detail on the protest movement and its ramifications. She shows how the ulama and merchants cooperated, how the influence of Jamal-ad-Din al-Afghani and of Malkam Khan was made evident, how vigorously Russia fought the monopoly, how the politics of personalities in the Shah's entourage affected events. Protests and riots in the major centers—Shiraz, Tabriz, Tehran, Isfahan, Meshed—are put in focus. What she terms the "strange alliance" of religious and radical reforming groups is not so strange in the modern history of Muslim countries, but it is unquestionably significant.

Keddie's principal source is the Foreign Office archives, in which she ranges more widely than Lambton, but she also uses to good effect the French Foreign Ministry archives, published materials in Persian and Western languages, and some recent articles in Russian. This book will not have the wide use its research deserves because it is very hard to read. It is cluttered with long quotations, with much discussion of sources, and with a barely relevant excursus

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on Jamal-ad-Din. The publisher has not helped matters by putting most notes at the end of the chapters, although a few unaccountably appear on the page where they belong. The book has a glossary, bibliography, six appendixes, and an index.

George Washington University RODERIC H. DAVISON

Africa

AFRICA SINCE 1800. By *Roland Oliver* and *Anthony Atmore*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 304. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

SIMULTANEOUS demands converge upon historians of Africa. A superstructure of monographic literature had hardly been erected before educators called for a synthesis. Roland Oliver, an eminent craftsman who also knows as much as anyone about research in progress in this field, has collaborated with a younger colleague in the University of London to produce a textbook for the Africanized history curriculum leading to university entrance in West Africa. This purpose, unexpressed in the volume itself, explains the extreme simplicity of presentation, the omission of footnotes, the occasional extra excursions into European background, and the decision to carry the narrative down to 1966.

Oliver and Atmore have produced a concise yet concrete interpretation. The opening statement, that Africa before the late eighteenth century may be regarded essentially as two cultural areas, the Muslim, trans-Saharan North and the Bantu South, is a striking generalization and a virtual declaration that seaborne influences are to be de-emphasized. Another notable adjustment is the shift away from West Africa, toward a remarkably balanced consideration of all regions, including Madagascar. This does not become evident until the colonial section, after an illuminating summary of the jihads of the early nineteenth century in the western Sudan. The treatment of the partition, while not a complete lapse into anarchy, draws on all the more Africa-oriented impulses.

Bold interpretations coherently presented, as here, will give a temporary respite to those who otherwise sift conference papers and periodicals for additions to the still-incomplete outline of African history. Discussions will doubtless arise about details on some of the three dozen maps, or the real capacity of some of the highlighted individuals to fill their assigned roles. Some assertions are provocative. Can we really accept that "it took Stanley's journey and King Leopold's commercial vision to reverse the swing of the pendulum, which otherwise would have left West-Central Africa a dependency of East-Central Africa and a part of the Muslim world"?

While specialists debate such conclusions, students will be edified by much really basic information. Muslim offices and sects, for example, become assimilable historical factors, rather than exotica. Such a fresh, suggestive, and balanced perspective will certainly accelerate the understanding of modern African history.

Columbia University MARCIA WRIGHT

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TOWARDS A PAX AFRICANA: A STUDY OF IDEOLOGY AND AMBITION. By *Ali A. Mazrui.* [The Nature of Human Society Series.] ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 287. $5.95.)

THIS is a most welcome elaboration and analysis of current African political thought by an African political scientist. Mazrui redefines some older concepts as an African sees them and presents a rationale for such new concepts as "racial sovereignty" and "continental jurisdiction." He explains why the doctrines of Pan-Africanism and nonalignment do not imply a mere search for unity or peace as goals in themselves, but a quest for human dignity, equality, and a need to make Africa "matter in the world."

Self-determination, in the language of African nationalism, has evolved into a sense of "pigmentational" determination, which lends to sovereignty a racial component. Freedom and sovereignty can only be attained if the rulers are African by race. Colonialism is permanent aggression, and rebellions against it, therefore, cannot be illegal.

Mazrui relies extensively on the thought of Kwame Nkrumah and other English-speaking African nationalists who have pleaded for continental unity as a means of substituting a *Pax Africana* for the now-defunct *Pax Britannica.* The desire of Africans to be their own policemen is at present limited by what Mazrui calls a temporary lack of the capacity for nonalignment and a resulting state of affairs that he terms neoalignment. Such compromises as the receipt of arms from non-African countries, the need to appeal to Britain to suppress mutinies in East Africa, the hiring of white mercenaries to fight Africans in the Congo, and a general lack of the African resources necessary to achieve "continental jurisdiction" in solving Africa's problems fall within this category.

Drawing upon a wide range of European, Asian, and American as well as African sources, Mazrui has produced a thoughtful and stimulating book that should be widely read and provoke much discussion.

School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University VERNON MCKAY

AFRICA: THE POLITICS OF UNITY. AN ANALYSIS OF A CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENT. By *Immanuel Wallerstein.* (New York: Random House. 1967. Pp. xi, 274. $4.95.)

IN 1962 Mr. Wallerstein published an excellent short account of African nationalist movements in *Africa: The Politics of Independence.* He has now produced a sequel dealing with the Pan-African movement, which he regards as the strongest indigenous political force in Africa since independence. He views Pan-Africanism as a major social movement, led by a revolutionary core whose objective is transformation of African society and Africa's place in the world. The core has, however, had to come to terms with other African groups that urge African unity without viewing social revolution as a major objective, and that, in alliance with outside powers, have led the movement into the paths of compromise. The revolutionary core has therefore not yet been successful;

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appropriately, the book ends at the time of the downfall of Kwame Nkrumah, perhaps the most persistent and certainly the best-known of the revolutionary leaders.

Wallerstein provides some interesting ideas, and his general themes are provocative. His comments on events from 1957 to 1965, particularly on African policies in the various Congo crises and the problems involved in helping to liberate South Africa, are useful. He surveys the multitude of Pan-African organizations, concentrating particularly on those that united political parties, governments, and trade-unions. When he describes in detail the meetings and agreements leading to creation of the Organization of African Unity or the All-African Trade Union Federation, however, he bogs down; Colin Legum's *Pan-Africanism* is more satisfactory as a reference for this sort of detail.

At the same time, certain themes need fuller development. Thus Wallerstein deals with African trade-unions as part of the *avant-garde,* frequently at odds with their own governments but never so far out of touch that they lose political influence. He never considers concrete manifestations of this influence, however. Similarly his catalogue of Pan-African groups does not always indicate which ones were active and important and which existed only on paper. There is one chapter on the ideology of Pan-Africanism, very general in nature; there is surely much more to say on this subject.

It is not clear for what audience the book is intended. Sources are seldom mentioned, and, while much information obviously comes from interviews, a statement to this effect seems necessary, as do precise references for quotations and historical material. The general reader may find the discussion hard to follow. Marcus Garvey for instance is mentioned, but he is never identified; nor is his movement explained. The interested Africanist will find some of Wallerstein's ideas stimulating, but the book as a whole is not nearly so good as its predecessor.

Smith College MARGARET L. BATES

ÉTUDES D'HISTOIRE TUNISIENNE: XVII^{e}–XX^{e} SIÈCLES. By *Pierre Grandchamp.* [Publications de l'Université de Tunis, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines. Fourth Series, Histoire, Volume VI.] ([Paris:] Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. 199. 16 fr.)

THIS work begins with a short biographical sketch of Pierre Grandchamp (1875–1964), followed by an essay on his works. For a man whose formal education ended at the age of eighteen, Grandchamp had an amazingly productive career. He edited ten volumes of documents on French and Tunisian relations covering the period 1582–1705. During his thirty-three years as an official of the French protectorate in Tunisia Grandchamp collected, edited, and published these extensive documentary collections. This book, honoring Grandchamp, is edited by Professors André Martel and Paul Sebag of the University of Tunis. After listing a complete bibliography of Grandchamp's works, they provide eight examples ranging from his observations on the alleged imprisonment of St. Vincent de Paul in Tunis, 1605–1607, to Grandchamp's study of the Tunisian revolution of 1864. There is no central theme holding these

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excerpts together. The editors do not show, for example, why Grandchamp became interested in certain subjects. No events in his life are associated with his various works; in fact, the three-page section on his life is very sketchy.

While the information spanning the seventeenth through the nineteenth century is of interest to the historian, the book itself is a disappointment to anyone expecting an analysis of Grandchamp as a person and a famous editor. Only in two of the essays, one on St. Vincent de Paul and the other on the insurrection of 1864, are Grandchamp's views compared with other writers on these topics, and then only brief comparisons are drawn. While this is an admirable gesture in honor of Grandchamp, one might hope that eventually a more analytical and complete treatment of his career and works will appear.

DePauw University DWIGHT L. LING

THE ALGERIAN INSURRECTION, 1954–62. By *Edgar O'Ballance*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1967. Pp. 231. $7.00.)

EDGAR O'Ballance has previously written eight books on post-World War II military operations and organizations. He aims here primarily at dispelling the view that insurgent warfare contains some magic properties that prevent successful counteraction by conventional armies and methods. He notes that insurgency lost the day in Greece, the Philippines, and Malaya; thus he asks lay readers not to be conditioned solely by events in China or the French experience in Indochina.

Turning to Algeria, a place where the insurgents were defeated in the field and won the war—if achieving independence and getting rid of the French meant winning the war—O'Ballance shows the FLN to have had slender support at the beginning of the rebellion. Granting all the weaknesses of the French—not understanding what the rebellion meant, nor why it came about, internal political division, the dire deeds of the French Communist party, the problem of the *colons* and the insurrectionary French army in Algeria—still the Army of National Liberation was not much of a force by 1962 either inside Algeria or outside where Boumedienne's iron curtain armed forces waited for the French to let them enter. The FLN achieved independence through political and diplomatic circumstances rather than from military prowess. O'Ballance makes an impressive case for this thesis. He clearly proves that insurgency was hard work for the insurgents, but his book also shows that the guerrillas forced France to deploy a large force and to make heavy expenditures. We can all recall that President de Gaulle quite early considered that there was no military solution for the Algerian question as he conceived it. He was unwilling to protract the struggle further, and in this he was supported by the French electorate. Since independence French cultural and economic influence in Algeria looms strong; the hydrocarbons flow steadily out of the Sahara.

If this book were equipped with footnotes citing precise sources, it would please the scholars, but it probably would not change the argument. As far as I know, no scholar has had access to the ALN records, which were rather faithfully kept and stored; without them we are limited. The study asks limited questions, and the answers are sound. A few rough edges where reference is

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unclear or where small slips of fact occur could stand a little more polish. Perhaps O'Ballance is now ready to write a volume dealing with the anatomy of guerrilla warfare and insurgency.

Oakland University RICHARD M. BRACE

WEST AFRICA: THE FORMER FRENCH STATES. By *John D. Hargreaves.* [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1967. Pp. viii, 183. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

THIS is a short, well-conceived historical survey of the eight states of former French West Africa and the former French mandate and trust territory of Togo, an area some eight times the size of France. While the common experience of these countries under French rule is the principal rationale for the study, the author ranges far into the precolonial past to identify the ecological features, social evolutions, religious movements, and other historical developments that have contributed most to shaping the present. The bibliographical essay at the conclusion, together with the footnotes, provides an extremely well-selected listing of sources for further reading.

Initiates and neophytes alike will find much to extol in this compact survey, the first such available in English. The presentation is lucid, details are carefully selected and integrated, and the work is outstanding in its use of the most authoritative and up-to-date studies, unpublished as well as published, including many by Hargreaves. Inevitably there are imbalances and omissions. Niger and Mali, for example, are given much less attention than the coastal states. In some cases the author had no choice, given the existing scholarly lacunae. Other omissions and emphases are debatable. Accounts of the French empire builders overshadow the remarkable military and state-building achievements of their antagonists. The expansion of French commerce in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century might have been better articulated. A surprising omission is a connected account of the establishment of the network of French trading firms that have dominated the commercial life of French-speaking Africa. Such groups as CFAO and SCOA deserve mention, if need be at the expense of a cavalry officer or two. And, even though the author's focus is the multifold impact of the French presence, he shies away from setting forth explicitly the enormous influence France continues to exercise over most activities of its former colonies.

Professor Hargreaves has made an important contribution to closing the communications gap between French, British, and American scholars specializing on French-speaking Africa. The present study is both an admirable summary of contemporary scholarship and a long stride toward the future.

Indiana University GEORGE E. BROOKS, JR.

A QUESTION OF SLAVERY. By *James Duffy.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 240. $4.95.)

IN his latest addition to the small corpus of serious literature regarding the Portuguese African Empire, Professor Duffy has attempted a very difficult thing.

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He has tried to be patient both with the irascible humanitarians of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in London and the infuriatingly dilatory (and on occasion, corrupt) officials of Lisbon. He has preserved a commendable balance, no doubt with considerable strain, for the story of British efforts to coerce Portugal into a recognition that the slave trade existed in Lusitanian possessions, let alone that it was a function of social arrangements evolved through four centuries, is a frustrating and repetitious tale.

Duffy clearly delineates the two mainstreams of British opinion concerning Portugal (a priest-ridden community of monsters or a collection of good chaps stuck with inferior and intractable material, that is, Africans) and just as clearly traces the thread of daft idealism expressed in the hopelessly foggy rhetoric of ambitious legislation and executive decrees with which the Portuguese refuted their adversaries.

He demonstrates that Angola always was seen as a source of slaves for the Americas, especially Brazil; whereas Mozambique's population only attained importance in recent times, and then as a pool of contract labor for the plantation islands of the Indian Ocean and for South Africa's Rand. The British were fairly clear as to what constituted slavery, although the so-called *libertos* did worry English observers in Luanda during the 1860's. But, the thousands of supposedly free laborers who later contracted to spend many years either on São Tomé or Madagascar were a puzzlement.

The Portuguese insisted with increasing irritation that their labor laws conformed to those of other colonial powers, while their practice was considerably gentler. British critics argued just as stubbornly that these claims, even if true (which they very much doubted), were irrelevant. It was the manner in which labor was obtained, not its subsequent treatment, that counted. Besides, it offended British sensibilities that a small and weak nation could persist in activities so repugnant to the world's greatest power.

Much of this has been told before, notably by Duffy, though never in such detail. One hopes that he intends to carry the story onward from 1920, for the subject clearly does not end with his somewhat inconclusive final chapter.

Two minor strictures occur to me. Verney Lovett Cameron was neither so racist nor so anti-Portuguese as Duffy suggests; indeed, in the 1890's the Portuguese saw Cameron as a bulwark against the depredations of his countryman Rhodes. And, why does Harvard University Press not insist on bibliographies? Though the footnotes at the bottom of each page are cited fully, there is a sense of incompleteness about this procedure that is not dispelled by the brief note on sources.

Michigan State University J. R. Hooker

SOUTH AFRICA IN THE MAKING, 1652–1806. By *M. Whiting Spilhaus.* (Wynberg: Juta and Company. 1966. Pp. 422. R7.50.)

To say that South Africa in the twentieth century is the result of problems left unsolved in the nineteenth, which in turn was the product of the unsolved problems of the eighteenth, is one way of illustrating the continuity of action, attitude, and conflict that has marked the republic's history. Yet, despite

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the number of scholars involved in studies of South Africa, few have concentrated on explanations of the eighteenth century. Now Mrs. Margaret Whiting Spilhaus presents a significant and richly detailed account based upon an extensive use of primary sources. Her earlier book, *The First South Africans* (1949), dealt only with the first fifty years following the establishment of the Cape Colony; in this work she builds upon her earlier contribution and shows the same care in presenting a balanced analysis of the colony's development. Her attention to economics, race relations, social organization, and individual behavior well illustrates her theme of human weakness and frustration.

That company rule was detrimental to itself as well as to the Europeans and Africans residing under or near its jurisdiction is well known, but Spilhaus points up the confusion, pettiness, and ineffectiveness of its attempted administration, especially in its determination to avoid expense even when more law and some order might be the result of such expenditure. The concern of some of its governors and officials for the welfare of the Hottentot, Bushman, and slave, and later for the Xosa, shows a humanitarian impulse that was imprisoned within company demands and colonial realities. The company's burghers, more German than Dutch in origin (a point the author likes to make), displayed those qualities which historians have come to associate with them in the nineteenth century, and the author gives considerable space to the political manifestations of the country dwellers and their treatment of the Hottentot and Bushman, their trading and raiding activities with the "Kaffir," and their dislike for imposed organization and cooperation.

Although the author employs much primary material already in print but not always readily available to the American scholar, she has united this material into a highly readable and structured narrative. This unity gives her account its main strength.

Mount Holyoke College LESLIE CLEMENT DULY

THE AFRIKANER BOND: THE HISTORY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTY, 1880–1911. By *T. R. H. Davenport.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 431. $10.60.)

THE Afrikaner Bond was the first political party in South Africa, controlled throughout most of its life by a remarkable man, Jan Hofmeyr, who played the part of kingmaker rather than ruler in Cape Colony politics before 1910. Dr. Davenport has written an excellent, detailed account, first of the Bond as an exclusivistic Pan-Afrikaner organization, then as a Cape political party that accepted British rule and used its parliamentary strength to secure cabinets sympathetic to its views, and, finally, of its merger in 1911 with Afrikaner-dominated parties in the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal.

In the years of relative peace between Majuba in 1881 and the Jameson Raid in 1895, the Bond secured for the Cape Dutch both their economic interests as farmers, an increasing degree of equality for their language, and some erosion of the Cape liberal tradition. Although the Bond accepted the necessity of conceding some political rights to nonwhites, and its leaders fought for this view in the National Convention, the tradition had survived because of

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"the Liberals" in Cape politics, not the Bond. On the issues of the British "connection" and on relations with the rapidly growing British population it became a party of moderation, accepting as members men who were not Afrikaans-speaking without losing its character as an essentially Afrikaner organization. Though in theory nonwhites could become members, none ever did.

From this account it is clear that political moderation was limited to certain issues and could have survived only in special circumstances. The vigorous intervention of the imperial factor that followed the Jameson Raid destroyed the hope of developing a bilingual South African nationalism that accepted some form of political participation by nonwhites. The leaders of the Afrikaner-dominated parties who preached the gospel of "conciliation" after 1902 were primarily interested in the question of the distribution of power between the two white groups; it was the Afrikaner, Louis Botha, who became first Prime Minister, and *his* party was ultimately to lose the loyalty of Afrikaners. Davenport states in his preface that the Bond had "an important formative influence" on both major parties that appeared after Union. It is a great pity he did not write on this theme in his conclusion, if only to speculate on why "conciliation" failed, not only in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, where failure was hardly surprising, but in Cape Colony, where the roots of moderation were deeper and the ravages of war less obvious, at least in material form.

Davenport has used rich sources—party records, newspapers, and private papers—with skill and detachment, showing how Afrikaners, like the South African British, were divided before 1899. In so doing he demonstrates once more the profound misjudgments made by Sir Alfred Milner and the pitfalls facing anyone who tries to reconstruct a political system from outside.

Wesleyan University JEFFREY BUTLER

Asia and the East

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR NAVAL DEVELOPMENT, 1839–1895. By *John L. Rawlinson*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 25.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 318. $6.50.)

As the West was forcing its way into China during the nineteenth century, the only threat recognized by the ruling hierarchy was the military one. Consequently, the only adjustment Chinese officials were prepared to make in traditional institutions was the modernization of military and diplomatic machinery for purposes of defense. Even those who advocated innovations such as telegraph lines and a few modern schools for specialists supported their proposals with arguments that they were necessary to help protect the country from further aggression. Only toward the end of the century did educated Chinese begin to recognize that China could not exist in the modern world without fundamental changes in its ancient ways. Even military modernization, for which there was the most obvious need, was seriously handicapped by prevailing attitudes and habits. The conclusion to be drawn from Professor Rawlinson's study is that a combination of the provincial and professional jealousies, bureau-

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cratic confusion and indecision, and widespread official corruption and nepotism that were characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century made the maintenance of an effective navy impossible, regardless of the number and quality of modern warships built or purchased.

China's Struggle for Naval Development is a careful and detailed history of the rise and fall of the Chinese Navy between the Opium War and the first Sino-Japanese War: the erection and operation of modern shipbuilding and repair facilities, the training of naval officers and navy yard personnel, the conflicts among powerful provincial officials for control of China's warships and the abortive attempt to achieve centralization under a Navy Board created in 1885, the long and largely unsuccessful struggle to secure adequate defense appropriations, and the naval debacles of the Sino-French and Sino-Japanese Wars. Clearly shown are Li Hung-chang's leading role in the building of the modern navy and his contributions to its ultimate failure. Appended are lists of all Chinese naval vessels between 1860 and 1895 and all Chinese persons in any way connected with naval matters, with Chinese characters and, when obtainable, brief information. Rawlinson has used all available Chinese and Western-language sources, both primary and secondary. This is an important study, and in all probability it will remain the definitive work on the subject.

Cornell University KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF

THE MOSLEM REBELLION IN NORTHWEST CHINA, 1862–1878: A STUDY OF GOVERNMENT MINORITY POLICY. By *Wen-djang Chu.* [Central Asiatic Studies, Number 5.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. xiii, 232. 42 gls.)

BECAUSE of the scarcity of materials on the rebel side, the story of the great Muslim rebellions in northwestern China in the 1860's and 1870's will perhaps never be fully told. The only solid contemporary account believed to be by a Muslim concerns the events in the city of Sian between 1862 and 1863. The four-volume documentary collection, *Hui-min ch'i-i* (1953), included only two items on northwestern China that were by Muslims, neither containing useful information. Professor Chu, who has surveyed the Muslim materials and published articles on them, concentrates here on the Ch'ing side of the story. One may argue that, lacking rebel materials, a full view of "government minority policy" is not possible. Our knowledge of Muslim grievances must continue to be vague, and the effects of government measures cannot be verified. The main facts of Ch'ing Muslim policy in Shensi and Kansu emerge clearly, nevertheless, from this monograph. One sees the breakdown of the original Manchu policy, still maintained in the mid-eighteenth century, of treating the Muslims and the Han Chinese impartially. One follows the development of a "temporizing" policy in the five years beginning in 1862, alternating between military action and negotiated peace. Finally, a new policy emerged with Tso Tsung-t'ang, who combined ruthless extermination of the New Teaching sectarians with a plan of resettlement—moving the "good" Muslims to isolated communities easy to control, where they were given aid and introduced to Confucianism.

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While this case study of Ch'ing minority policy is valuable, the solidest part of the book deals with the imperial military efforts and the attendant administrative and financial problems. To this work the author has brought not only full mastery of the voluminous Ch'ing documents but also personal knowledge of the geography and the military problems of northwestern China, gained through experiences during the Sino-Japanese War. One suspects that the author has underestimated the part played by Tso's comparatively modern weapons in the Kansu campaigns. But it cannot be denied that the crucial factors behind Tso's success were the substantial financial support he received from Peking and his careful planning regarding food supplies for the expeditions across these forbidding plateaus. Tso comes through as a scholar-general of strong character, persevering, systematic, and endowed with a sure sense of strategy and politics. Chu follows him to the eve of his epic expedition into Sinkiang in 1876, perhaps leaving the expedition itself for a separate study.

Aside from his main story, Chu offers a wealth of detail on Ch'ing armies and on the administrative structure of northwestern China. The bibliography and glossary are carefully compiled, but no index has been provided.

University of California, Davis KWANG-CHING LIU

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF REPUBLICAN CHINA. Volume I, AI–CH'Ü. *Howard L. Boorman,* Editor. *Richard C. Howard,* Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 483. $20.00.)

CONFUCIANISM stressed personal conduct, and biographies dominated China's dynastic histories. Consequently, the chief vestibule to Chinese history in modern times is the two-volume *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* produced by Dr. Arthur Hummel, Chao-ying Fang, Lien-che Tu Fang, and others at the Library of Congress Division of Orientalia in the late 1930's and early 1940's. A similarly important "Ming Biographical History (1368–1644)" is now under way at Columbia. When Howard Boorman left the Foreign Service twelve years ago to create a comparable biographical basis for the study of republican China (1911–1949), he naturally found a home for it at Columbia University, where Chinese oral history records were already being accumulated. The present volume of 150 biographies is the first of four, totaling 600 biographies, to be concluded by a fifth volume of detailed bibliography.

Any appraisal of this first volume, even without its bibliography, will, I think, conclude that it is a remarkable achievement. Aided by Richard C. Howard, O. Edmund Clubb, and some seventy-five other contributors, the editor has been able to surmount some appalling difficulties. Where, under the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, the examination system and bureaucratic structure provided a stable framework for career patterns, under the republic there have been two regimes, the Peking government (1912–1928) and the Nationalist government (1928–1949), and two party apparatus, all with wide differences of terminology. Confucianism, constitutionalism, liberalism, Communism, and so forth have all had their advocates. Boorman correctly decided, moreover, that death could not be a prerequisite for inclusion, and so careers are followed beyond 1949, in fact until 1966. No period in any country could be more

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chaotic than this republican era. Paradoxically, this fact gives Boorman's work its greatest value. The widely variant career patterns are concretely displayed, in an unhurried, succinct, and judicious style. Platitudes are usually avoided. Evaluations are evenhanded, and the broad spectrum of Chinese life is well covered in the lives of classical scholars, overseas Chinese millionaires, Kuomintang revolutionists, journalists, warlords, Communist organizers, Christian theologians, publishers, linguists, Nationalist generals, pioneer aviators, mathematicians, bankers, Japanese puppet politicians, diplomats, historians, and various mixtures of the same. Chiang Kai-shek gets twenty pages; Chou En-lai, fifteen. The confusion of revolutionary China is penetrated, facts are nailed down, and historians everywhere will be immensely aided in the continuing effort to make sense out of modern China.

Harvard University J. K. Fairbank

LI TA-CHAO AND THE IMPACT OF MARXISM ON MODERN CHINESE THINKING. By *Huang Sung-k'ang*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Matériaux pour l'étude de l'Extrême-Orient contemporain, Textes, Number 5.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. ix, 91.)

LI TA-CHAO AND THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE MARXISM. By *Maurice Meisner*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 27.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 326. $4.95.)

The Western literature of Chinese biography is still not luxuriant, and the tendency has been one man, one book. Li Ta-chao (1888–1927), the first declared Marxist of note among Chinese intellectuals and one of the founders (with Ch'en Tu-hsiu) of the Chinese Communist party in 1921, now has two. Unfortunately for Dr. Huang, Dr. Meisner's book does not complement or supplement hers, but simply supersedes it. Her translations of ten of Li's essays have documentary value, but her description and interpretation of Li's place in Chinese history are altogether too slight, in quantity and quality, to contest the field with Meisner's well-researched, deeply pondered, rationally organized exposition.

Meisner's main theme is the complex combination of a voluntaristic interpretation of Marxism (uneasiness with determinism) and a militant Chinese nationalism. He uses the fruitful method of pointing out seemingly paradoxical associations of ideas and then unriddling the context that makes the paradox plausible. He writes intelligently on Li and "consciousness," especially in the way he relates this to Lenin's reasoning on the intelligentsia as an elite; the detective work on diffusion or separate origin is important for establishing the indigenously Chinese ingredients in Chinese revolutionary history. He is not quite so successful on Li and populism, mainly because he uses only Russian points of comparison and does not deal with another Chinese thinker, Liang Sou-ming, who had ideas close to Li's in this respect but who worked them into a different complex of ideas. Still, Meisner is always perceptive, a real intellectual historian, when he distinguishes psychological affinity from syllogistic conviction, when he explains the appeal of Russia's October Revolution in China before any widespread Chinese study of Marxist theory. There was no *tabula rasa* in China

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for theory to print upon, and Meisner is acute in relating the May Fourth movement to earlier types of pro-Western orientation; in relating cultural malaise to revolutionary politics; and in discussing a basic Chinese need to mitigate determinism, and therefore to find strands in basic Marxism that could be seized on for this purpose. Although Meisner, doubtless wisely, is not carried away to speculative extensions of Li's hypothesis, the theme of class struggle as race struggle is obviously becoming more prominent in the new world politics. Meisner is interesting, too, on Li's embracing internationalism as a fulfillment of Chinese nationalism, instead of an insult and injury. And he is refreshingly nonpolemical in illuminating the relation of the peasant movement to Chinese Communism. Meisner is always to the point in comparing Li's position to those of Chinese contemporaries.

There are questions raised, of course, that are not entirely answered. In a sense, Meisner "leans to one side." In considering the combination of Communism and nationalism, he assumes that if men are skeptical of genuine amalgamation they must be coming down on the side of "only Communism," nationalism being some sort of tactic or fake. Actually, another school of skeptics is probably stronger (and wronger). For them, only nationalism is real, and Communism is superstructure or vehicle. Accordingly, Meisner is clearer in showing that Li's Communism demanded nationalism than he is in showing that Li's nationalism was something only Communism could implement. Yet, Meisner's conclusion is effective. The strands of the story are really drawn together, and the work provides a cumulative effect as a powerful contribution to understanding.

University of California, Berkeley JOSEPH R. LEVENSON

LE JAPON. By *Jean Lequiller*. [L'histoire du xx^{e} siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1966. Pp. ix, 621. 56 fr.)

JEAN Lequiller, who was formerly the director of the *Institut Franco-Japonais de Tokyo* and who has lived in Japan for seven years, has sought to provide the French public with a detailed account of twentieth-century Japanese history. About a fourth of the book is devoted to the nineteenth-century background, somewhat over a half to the period 1900–1945, and the rest to the postwar period. In preparing his account Lequiller has relied primarily on the publications in this field of British and American scholars, especially the latter. There is, therefore, little in his book by way of either fact or interpretation that would not already be familiar to those who have been following the English-language literature. A certain Gallic flavor is added, however, by a more frequent use of quotations from French diplomatic observers than is usual in texts on Japan, and at some future date Lequiller should make this type of neglected source material available in greater quantity.

Lequiller's treatment of the prewar period emphasizes diplomatic events and military actions; his book will be useful as a reference work for anyone requiring detailed information in those areas. This has meant, unfortunately, that he has not been able to allot sufficient space for an analysis in depth of domestic political or economic development, and he has omitted almost entirely

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any consideration of cultural or intellectual history. Lequiller would appear, moreover, not to have had full access to the results of research made available during the past few years in this rapidly developing field. Consequently, at several points his interpretation of the prewar scene is somewhat dated. In contrast, his consideration of the postwar period is much better informed and presents a carefully reasoned analysis of political and economic changes. A French view of the occupation and its aftermath is very useful. Again, however, Lequiller neglects the social, cultural, and especially the intellectual aspects of Japanese life. In the last case this may well result from his conviction, mistaken in my view, that in the world of ideas Japan is still an underdeveloped country.

The uninitiated reader should be warned that careless editing has resulted in a number of errors in Japanese names and words.

City College of New York ARTHUR E. TIEDEMANN

JAPAN'S QUEST FOR AUTONOMY: NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1930–1938. By *James B. Crowley*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 428. $9.00.)

HISTORIANS have tended to see Japan's foreign policy in the 1930's as the product of military incidents, political assassinations, army factionalism, and other problems interacting with each other in a way that permitted aggressive elements to seize power at home and to plunge into a program of expansion abroad. Although Mr. Crowley recognizes that a "pervasive relationship" existed between the behavior of Japanese army officers and the conduct of the nation's foreign affairs, he endeavors to go beyond earlier explanations in order to clarify the substance of Japan's goals and the political process by which its "security policies" were formulated and implemented between 1930 and 1938. The result is a microscopic study of a critical period not previously examined in such detail by scholars writing in English on the basis of Japanese sources.

Japan's military leaders, according to Crowley, were operating under the influence of three convictions: Japan's hegemonic position in East Asia and its status as a world power depended on its ability to wage war against the Soviet Union and the United States; Japan's resources were not sufficient to permit it to confront either of these powers; and this obstacle could be overcome only if the government imposed a planned economy on Japan and undertook to destroy Nationalist China.

Although some aspects of the Japanese scene come into sharper focus as a result of Crowley's appraisal, the "autonomy" issue is only one of several considerations, and it should be examined critically. Perhaps Japanese and American scholars have been too severe at times in dealing with Japan's military masters and too ready to overlook the complementary role played by civilian leaders, but the present work goes rather far in the opposite direction. It invariably portrays key army and navy figures as men of intelligence, responsibility, and character (some of them were) and as loyal and honorable servants of the throne (some of them were not).

The author rises to defend individuals previously censured and is the devil's advocate for attitudes and policies assailed by others, but where the treatment

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seems excessively charitable the reader is likely to find himself asking questions and drawing his own conclusions—an exercise that is not without value in a world in which the threat of a new Armageddon, launched by one government or another in the name of national defense, remains a constant factor. The tragedy is that alternative courses of action could have been adopted by Japan's civil and military leaders, but these other options either were not weighed in the balance or were summarily discarded.

Despite the author's approach, however, this work contains revealing information about a number of major problems and episodes in the Far East that lent urgency to the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Second World War.

University of Washington R. J. C. Butow

JAPAN'S DECISION FOR WAR: RECORDS OF THE 1941 POLICY CONFERENCES. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by *Nobutaka Ike*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxx, 306. $8.50.)

Winston Churchill, among others, has viewed Japan's decision for war with the United States as being incompatible with prudence and sanity; Professor Schroeder, among others, has seen it not as an act of madness but of desperation. No one denies it was a momentous decision that basically restructured the game of politics and diplomacy in Asia. As a decision that had profound historical consequences, the process by which Japan's leaders resolved on war is a fascinating and significant topic, of vital interest to students of Japanese and American foreign policy, conflict resolution, and group behavior. In this volume, Professor Ike provides a splendid translation of the best single primary source on the thinking process of Japan's political and military leaders between April and December 1941: the minutes of the Liaison Conferences of the Japanese government. Since the translation is superb, the non-Japanese reading specialist can safely utilize these documents. Japanese specialists can, if they wish, check the original text, which is reproduced in Volume VIII of the well-known *Taiheiyō sensō e no michi* series.

In his cogent introduction, Ike also articulates several observations drawn from a careful reading of the 1941 Liaison Conferences. Among these, the following seem most basic: all Japanese policy makers believed that world peace would be enhanced by the realization of an Asian Coprosperity Sphere; by September 1941 Japan's leaders regarded the *status quo* as intolerable, and, in the absence of concessions by the United States, they viewed war as inevitable; memories of the Russo-Japanese War "consciously or unconsciously" led Japan's leaders to expect a repetition of the earlier conflict; and Japan's leaders were fatalists, an orientation that enabled them to accept the risk of war with equanimity or resignation. Ike also believes that Japan's decision for war has direct relevance to contemporary American strategic policy: "Against those who are willing to take great risks, deterrence may not be effective. If nothing else, the Japanese data for 1941 cast serious doubt on the validity of the deterrence theory, which has dominated American military policy since the end of 1945."

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Without fully concurring with all of these judgments, one must affirm that Ike has performed an extremely valuable task. Anyone concerned with Japan's decision for war will find this volume indispensable. Japanese specialists will, in addition, appreciate the meticulous care and linguistic skill Ike displayed in preparing this excellent translation.

Yale University JAMES B. CROWLEY

ASIAN BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS EMERGENT FROM THE BRITISH IMPERIAL TRADITION. By *Ralph Braibanti et al.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, Publication Number 28.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Center. 1966. Pp. xx, 733. $15.00.)

THIS massive volume makes an important contribution: it expands our understanding of bureaucratic processes; it enlarges our knowledge of comparative administration and of administrative history; it demonstrates the value of efforts in the comparative analysis of sociopolitical institutions; it contains an impressive collection of well-introduced and carefully integrated case studies of administrative systems, each of which was connected to a common political heritage and each of which was located within contiguous areas of South Asia. Each study reflects the considerable field experience, professional competence, and perceptive authority and virtuosity of its author, and each draws together a significant amount of fresh empirical data. Yet, while each is discrete and self-contained, exploring some special aspect of the administrative development in a particular country, all of them concentrate upon the essentially bureaucratic elements and processes. Since each system evolved out of a common imperial tradition, which accompanied the expansion of Indo-British power in the Indian Ocean, similarities in bureaucratic forms and functions are portrayed upon underlying diversities of environment, culture, and history. The resulting combination clearly demonstrates and emphasizes what kinds of substantive comparative analysis are possible. The authors have given us a remarkably successful addition to the literature in comparative history.

The eleven chapters of this book have been produced by nine authors. Except for one retired senior administrator and one historical anthropologist, all of the contributors are political scientists. Three have experience as administrators in South Asia. At the core of the whole work lies the heritage of the Indian Empire. This is clearly shown in the excellent chapter by Hugh Tinker on the structure of the British imperial heritage; it is, moreover, superbly introduced and finally drawn together in the concluding observations of Ralph Braibanti, the organizer and editor of this volume. Bernard S. Cohn has provided a useful description of the recruitment and training of British servants of the East India Company, with special reference to the Bengal Presidency and northern India. The following chapters describe the bureaucratic changes that have occurred since independence: in India (David C. Potter); Pakistan (Braibanti); Burma (James F. Guyot); Ceylon (Robert N. Kearney); Malaya (Robert O. Tilman); and Nepal (Merrill R. Goodall). The chapter on contemporary bureaucracy in Ceylon is preceded by a special study by Sir Charles Collins, in which he clearly traces the imperial heritage of Ceylon and distinguishes

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it from the imperial heritage of India as described by Tinker. Each study brings out the basic organizational features that became characteristic of British imperial tradition. Each shows how pervasive has been the elitist character of each bureaucratic system; how cohesive elements of high selectivity, lofty prestige, corporate identity, common purposes, and discretionary powers have been preserved; how fundamental the stress on personal integrity and political neutrality has been; how persistent the emphasis upon general and philosophical training, upon a broad educational training has been; and, finally, how resilient and durable this entire heritage has remained. Despite variable indigenous factors and circumstances, despite differences between these bureaucratic systems, persistence in the face of change and similarity in the midst of diversity are recurrent themes emerging from the studies in this volume.

University of Wisconsin ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG

ASOKA MAURYA. By *Balkrishna Govind Gokhale.* [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 3.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1966. Pp. 194. $4.95.)

As one might expect, this book is less a biography of Asoka than a discussion of the India of his times. Professor Gokhale has tried to maintain the framework of a biography, but because of the paucity of information on Asoka it has been difficult. He has utilized the thirty-three inscriptions left by Asoka on rocks and pillars to what must be almost their fullest extent; a translation, designed particularly for the layman, of each of these inscriptions appears in the approximately nineteen-page appendix. It is not much of an exaggeration to say that they have been expanded to 150 pages in the text itself, although it should be noted that extensive use is also made of the *Arthasastra* of Kautalya, the legal adviser to the Mauryas, who is treated as a contemporary of Chandragupta.

Asoka does not, of course, emerge as a living figure in these pages, but that is unnecessary. His significance lies in the fact that, converted to Buddhism while Emperor, he tried to live and rule according to the precepts of his faith. His life is the classic study of the concentration of political realism and personal ethics in one man; in a sense, it is a microcosm of much of history, whether one thinks in terms of Europe or of other parts of Asia. It is interesting that even after the Kalinga war—the "great divide" of his career—this great pacifist Emperor maintained a standing army of about a million men.

Gokhale provides some excellent discussions of Buddhism, whose spread throughout Asia was so much indebted to Asoka's conversion. It is, however, a little tedious to be told half a dozen times, in such a short book, that Asoka's daughter, Samghamitra, served as a missionary to Ceylon. But Asoka, who provided an emphasis on morality and the spiritual life that has been almost unique among the world's rulers, was unable to prevent the processes of deterioration already at work in the Mauryan Empire. Though he ruled for forty years, it was only fifty years after his death that the last of the Mauryas was assassinated and the dynasty overthrown.

This book was essentially designed for the layman. Although somewhat

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pedantic, it reflects the author's broad knowledge of one of India's most fruitful eras and presents a shadowy picture of one of history's most fascinating figures.

Tufts University FREELAND ABBOTT

THE MUTINY AND BRITISH LAND POLICY IN NORTH INDIA, 1856–1868. By *Jagdish Raj.* (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1965. Pp. xiii, 191. $5.25.)

RECENT years have seen the publication of detailed monographic studies of early land policy in most of the provinces of British India. This book, originally a dissertation submitted to the University of London in 1957, traces the evolution of British policy in Oudh during the years from its annexation in 1856 to the final resolution of the land question in the Oudh Rent Act of 1868. Despite the title, scant attention is paid to other areas. For some years after the upheaval of 1857 Oudh was, however, the center of an intense official controversy over land policy, which culminated in the restoration of the talukdari or landlord system of landholding. The province is therefore worthy of study on its own terms.

Unfortunately, owing in part to the long delay in publication, there is little that is new in this book. Most of the ground has already been covered in the recent works by Maclagan on Canning, by R. J. Moore on Wood, and by me on the aftermath of the revolt. Nor does Raj make any attempt to emancipate himself from the narrow confines of official policy making. Much of the book is little more than extended summaries of the letters that passed between Lucknow, Calcutta, and London. His main conclusion, that the policy of landlord settlement was unwise and unfortunate, may well be true without much advancing our understanding of why the British acted as they did at the time. Indeed it can be argued that Raj's passionate convictions on the subject lead him to overestimate the ease with which the rebellious talukdars could have been subdued in 1858 and to underestimate the extent of Canning's commitment to the ideals of laissez faire. The only significant factual error is his acceptance, for the total number of villages in the province, of a figure that refers only to the number of villages in taluks on annexation. The effects of this rather serious misreading are exacerbated by the complete lack of any of the statistical tables of landholding one would expect in a study of this nature.

Raj's account is nevertheless of value to the student of Indian history for it provides a clear and connected narrative, and much useful detail, on a subject of immense importance. His masterful summary of the 1865 investigation of tenant right is itself sufficient to justify the existence of the work.

University of California, Berkeley THOMAS R. METCALF

HISTORY OF THE GAZETTEERS OF INDIA. By *S. B. Chaudhuri.* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, Government of India. 1964. Pp. vii, 230.)

As Dr. Chaudhuri observes in his introduction, the Indian gazetteers "constitute a unique achievement of the British government in India. No comparable area of the world has anything like this prodigious compilation of statistical data

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and demographic and historical material." Nearly five hundred volumes of imperial, provincial, and district gazetteers were published in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they are an important resource for today's historians, though one that as yet remains largely unexploited. Now, with the recent issuance of a complete microfiche edition of the gazetteers (by IDC, Zug, Switzerland), they have become readily available for library acquisition and will certainly be more widely used. In these circumstances, particular interest attaches to the process by which these volumes were created. Chaudhuri has set himself the task of tracing the development of gazetteer compilation and publication in India, from the pioneer efforts at the beginning of the nineteenth century through the great achievement of W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1881), down to the new series of gazetteers that has begun to appear in the years since independence.

In reconstructing the story he has drawn on unpublished materials from the India Office Library and the National Archives of India, as well as on the gazetteers themselves. Regrettably, however, the result is far from satisfactory. His book is little more than a scissors-and-paste job, poorly organized and incredibly badly written. Long extracts from government memorandums convey some sense of the ponderous procedures of Anglo-Indian bureaucracy; at the same time, they reveal the author's inability to synthesize. In fact, the most useful part of the book is the thirty-seven-page appendix that lists, with minimal bibliographical detail, each of the various gazetteers and gazetteer-type volumes that were published over the years.

Sir George Williams University MARTIN DEMING LEWIS

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC: SOME ASPECTS OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTION IN THE MAKING. By *Panchanand Misra.* (Calcutta: Scientific Book Agency. 1966. Pp. 2, 4, 255. Rs. 12.)

THIS monograph will be useful primarily for historians and political scientists who have already carefully studied the Constitution of India as promulgated on January 26, 1950. Other readers will need the lengthy text of the Constitution beside them as they read. Dr. Misra's method is to take up that text section by section summarizing both the debates in the Constituent Assembly and the suggestions received by the drafting committee from individual experts and such outside bodies as the Calcutta Bar Association. This task is competently done, but it involves much unnecessary repetition and a rehearsal of many trivial or patently inapposite proposals so speedily rejected as to have had no effect whatever on the framing of the Constitution. Misra proves his point that constitution making was not dominated by the Congress party, but he does not sufficiently stress the group that did dominate the work: the small segment of the English-speaking elite previously trained in law and administration. If the Constitution was based "on the experience of the people," these members of the elite were the interpreters of that experience and of the experience of many other peoples, chiefly the British, in constitution making.

This work brings out clearly what the Indian Constitution owes to foreign constitutions. The influence of the Irish Constitution of 1937 is especially well

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demonstrated. It is surprising, however, to find an Indian scholar with American experience citing the Fourteenth Amendment as "USA Constitution (1865) Art. XIV." There also seems to be some confusion in the implication that "fundamental rights" are not effectively guaranteed under the British unwritten constitution. The value of this monograph to the nonspecialist would have been greatly enhanced by prefacing each summary of a debate by a précis of the relevant article and by at least indicating the articles that have undergone significant changes as a result of amendments since 1950. Though reminded that B. R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Constitution, was disillusioned with it as early as 1953, most readers will lay this book down with the erroneous impression that the Indian Constitution has changed little since 1950.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

PUBLIC OPINION AND CONSTITUTION MAKING IN PAKISTAN, 1958–1962. By *Edgar A.* and *Kathryn R. Schuler.* ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1967. Pp. 286. $6.00.)

ACCORDING to the authors, this work attempts to tell the story of the drafting of Pakistan's Constitution of 1962. With few exceptions, only newspaper sources were used in this study. The authors lived in Pakistan during thirty-four of the forty-four months of martial law, though they were not in any major city. They inform us that: they did not have access to original documents; they were not in a position to interview the leading personalities involved in the drafting of the new constitution; they were not able to use newspapers in either of the two national languages of Pakistan, Urdu and Bengali; because they lived in the hinterland of East Pakistan, access to such informed public opinion as may then have existed in the major urban centers was seriously restricted; and except in a few instances, "it has not been possible to verify the accuracy of the alleged facts as published in the daily press."

About fifty daily newspapers were published in Pakistan during the period covered in the book. The authors chose only two English-language dailies, one from either wing of Pakistan, for systematic consultation; the third paper consulted was *Statesman* of India on the advice of "informed Pakistanis." It is obvious that a satisfactory study of public opinion and the history of constitution making, given these limitations, is not possible. Though the press in Pakistan, despite martial law, provided an "unexpectedly large" wealth of information on constitution making, exclusion of influential Urdu and Bengali dailies, particularly *Nawa-i-Waqt, Anjam,* and *Ittefaq,* from the study leaves serious gaps, and, in order to weave an account of historical nature from newspaper reports, a thorough familiarity with the background of the politics and personages involved is essential. Unfortunately the authors do not appear strong in this field.

The material presented lacks integration. The political and constitutional developments and the participants therein are introduced without contexts. More discomforting are the omissions. After nearly a 175-page account of activities leading to the formation and announcement of the Constitution come the reactions to it. Besides quoting from the editorials of two or three newspapers

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welcoming the Constitution, the book gives a total of three opinions: the president of the Pakistan Bar Association and twenty leading ulama of Bannu (a rather unimportant district in the northwest of West Pakistan) supporting the Constitution and Maulana Maudoodi, "the fundamentalist Muslim," expressing his disappointment.

The subject of the study is important, and much more material is available than has been utilized. The present study is useful in the sense that it has collected in one place most of the news items and editorials relating to constitution making published in the two leading newspapers of Pakistan between 1958 and 1962.

Rosemont College MASOOD GHAZNAVI

THE ORIGINS OF MALAY NATIONALISM. By *William R. Roff*. [Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Number 2.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 297. $8.50.)

AMONG the many recent studies of the history of Malaya and Malaysia, it is pleasant indeed to find one that explores new terrain, opens areas for future research, and seeks to use fresh methodological concepts. Through careful research in Malay-language newspapers and private papers, and through personal interviews, the author succeeds in baring some of the internal dynamics of Malay society within the broader context of imperial developments in the peninsula. Changes within Malay society were prompted by Britain's establishment of direct political and administrative control in the 1870's and by the development of an export economy, modern transport network, and urban centers. But Malay life was not always immediately and directly affected by these forces of "modernization," for the changes that did occur seemed to operate on a schedule and pattern of their own, frequently more explainable in the context of traditional social patterns.

Three new groups of leaders are shown to be emerging in Malay society before World War II, a society in which the paramount position of the Malay rulers was virtually incontestable. The first group originated through Islamic reform. Mainly urban-centered, this essentially modernizing movement came into immediate conflict with the traditional Islamic establishment. This conflict plus later complications prevented a mass appeal or an effective political base. The second sign of Malay dynamism was among the secular Malay-educated intelligentsia, largely vernacular teachers influenced by Left-wing developments in Indonesia. Organizational failures vitiated their activity in the preindependence period, but they have emerged as a significant political factor in contemporary Malaysia. The third group of potential leaders arose from the English-educated administrators and government servants whose fear of alien domination sparked their early political activities. Ethnic rather than nationalist, this group was essentially conservative, desiring to hold the *status quo* under British aegis rather than face directly the challenges of a plural society. Independence has brought them into roles of prominence in the new state, but has also extended their vision.

While Mr. Roff's book is not immediately concerned with the years since

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1940, there is no doubt but that it establishes the essential framework within which later events occurred. Although these events were enacted on a national stage, it is quite evident that they must be explained and understood in more local and particularistic terms. Roff's study admirably provides this context through the use of a Malay-centered orientation blended with judicious and sympathetic evaluation of the Malay-language record. Both his factual narrative and his methodology advance the study of Southeast Asian history.

University of Hawaii ROBERT VAN NIEL

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT OF BANTEN IN 1888: ITS CONDITIONS, COURSE AND SEQUEL. A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDONESIA. By *Sartono Kartodirdjo*. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Number 50.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1966. Pp. x, 379. 30 gls.)

THE main title of this work, Sartono's dissertation at the University of Amsterdam, may, at first glance, surprise the reader who knows that the "peasants' revolt of Banten in 1888" was a rather pathetic disturbance. Its back was broken within twenty-four hours, and it resulted in forty-seven deaths. Sartono actually gives about a third of his book to the revolt itself—plans, brief blaze, and aftermath—but his real subject is indicated by the last phrase of the title. He treats the revolt of 1888 as the last act in a three-quarter-century cycle of disturbance and rebellion in Banten (Bantam, in West Java) and uses it effectively as a peg on which to hang a comprehensive analysis of the social conditions that generated this cycle. To this end he has marshaled a prodigious array of material from the archives in the Netherlands (those in Indonesia are peculiarly difficult of access), from Dutch books and periodicals concerned with Java, and from the modern academic literature on social movements. The result is worthy of comparison with other major studies of the social history of nineteenth-century Southeast Asia such as those by Wickberg, Skinner, and Gullick. It reveals what the colonial sources can provide for the historian at home in the sociological literature and serves as an example of the kind of work more historians of Southeast Asia will be doing when they have had done with neocolonial history.

Compared with the best, as it deserves to be, *The Peasants' Revolt* has serious weaknesses. Like many dissertations, it would have profited from heavy pruning and editing. The author shows an unfortunate tendency to write in the stale lingo of modern social science. His analysis is generally strong, particularly on social and political change; the economic sections are less convincing. He does, however, miss an opportunity to end the work with a final comparative chapter on the tradition of revolt in Banten history: not only the nineteenth-century forms treated here, but the earlier ones, and the "Communist" revolt in 1926, and "social revolution" in 1945–1946. This would have given him a chance to refine his observations on the relative importance of modernization in the pattern he is describing, a question crucial for any study of modern Southeast Asian social history.

These weaknesses, however, do not compromise the essential quality of this

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work. Comparative historians and social scientists interested in social movements, peasant revolts, and the like will find it a useful and reliable case study in a field almost unknown to nonreaders of Dutch. For historians of Southeast Asia it is a work all must read and come to terms with.

University of Wisconsin JOHN R. W. SMAIL

MEN AND A RIVER: A HISTORY OF THE RICHMOND RIVER DISTRICT, 1828–1895. By *Louise Tiffany Daley.* ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 203. $7.00.)

THE valley of the Richmond River is a lush agricultural section in the northeastern part of the state of New South Wales in Australia. The first settlers drifted into the area in the 1840's, and they were followed in subsequent decades by successive waves of cedar cutters, pastoralists, gold seekers, and finally farmers. The pattern of settlement was greatly influenced by access to the river, which was navigable by commercial vessels for about sixty miles from its outlet in the Pacific.

Mrs. Daley, an American resident in the area since World War II, fell in love with the region. Active in the work of the local historical society, she has now written a history of the valley during its nineteenth-century development. The early occupants seem to have been almost prodigious letter writers; the author has had access to these and has used them copiously.

While this should have added depth to her work, she has been too much captive to this material, and this has prevented her study from becoming a significant contribution to Australian local history. There is much about the business ventures of the local families on whose letters she leans for material, but of the truly community aspects of the area she tells the reader little. There is only an occasional mention of such community institutions as churches, educational activity, communications—aside from that provided by the river—banks, and recreational and sporting clubs. Political activities and attitudes, particularly those deriving from a long-existing feeling in the area that the government of the colony was indifferent to its interests, are scarcely mentioned. And though the author carries her account to the eve of the establishment of the Commonwealth, she gives no indication that the occupants of the Richmond area were in the slightest degree interested in the formation of the new federal government. Though not without interest, *Men and a River* is too unbalanced to be good local history.

University of Maryland DONALD C. GORDON

THE LAND BOOMERS. By *Michael Cannon.* ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 247. $13.50.)

DURING the 1880's Victoria enjoyed the feverish excitement of a major land boom. Speculation in city and suburban property was stimulated by easy credit facilities offered by a variety of financial institutions that burgeoned to satisfy

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and excite the public appetite. By legitimate opportunism and fraudulent practice, individuals and companies amassed volatile fortunes. In an era of faction and coalition ministries, when patronage and the fight for office dominated Victorian politics, an insidious identity of interests developed between politicians and businessmen, and public integrity was shamefully sacrificed to personal profit. The boom was built, nevertheless, on temporary, insubstantial foundations, and its collapse after 1893 ruined small investors and large speculators alike. Impressive financial empires fell, despite the generosity of contemporary bankruptcy proceedings, and reputations were as disastrously shattered, though such newspapers as *Table Talk* exposed only the fringes of widespread malversation.

Earlier accounts of the land boom written by H. G. Turner and others personally involved in the scandals were incomplete and partial. This study of the careers of leading Victorian businessmen in the 1880's and the network of financial ventures they developed is, therefore, welcome. Description is Mr. Cannon's forte. He captures, vividly in places, the changing public mood of excitement and despair. He is less successful, however, in drawing conclusions and providing explanations. His description of the characteristics of the boom does not offer an analysis of its origins or the causes of its collapse. His suggestive references to the connection between the nature of Victorian politics and the prevailing mood of speculation and financial dishonesty might have been usefully expanded. Mention is made of unemployment, labor unrest, and the need for social reforms, but the precise relationship of these issues with the changing nature of the economy is not clearly demonstrated. Cannon has, nevertheless, reopened inquiry into this facet of Australian history, cleared away some misconceptions, produced considerable new evidence, and laid the groundwork for further studies. The material is, unfortunately, scantily documented, and notes are furtively hidden at the end of the book with an exceptionally tedious and confusing method of citation.

Dalhousie University PETER BURROUGHS

THAT BETTER COUNTRY: THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF LIFE IN EASTERN AUSTRALIA, 1835–1850. By *John Barrett*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 213. $12.00.)

CARDINAL MORAN AND THE A.L.P.: A STUDY IN THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN MORAN AND SOCIALISM, 1890–1907: ITS EFFECTS UPON THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY: THE FOUNDATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT AND ACTION IN MODERN AUSTRALIA. By *Patrick Ford*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 319. $14.50.)

THESE books by clergymen-scholars examine the religious aspects of nineteenth-century Australia, when secularism, egalitarianism, and nationalism interacted significantly. Church and state were in constant confrontation, and religion (and education) became familiar subjects for political bloodletting.

John Barrett, a Methodist pastor, examines three aspects: the religious establishment, the churches and education, and religious practice and opinion. The

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Anglican Church came with the first fleet in 1788 and exerted a firm monopoly. Catholic priests were deported and dissenting ministers hedged by restrictions. In the reforming 1830's, Governor Bourke of New South Wales broadened state aid to include the Catholic and Presbyterian churches. Wesleyans and Dissenters were excluded from the establishment, but received annual grants.

As costs rose, the colonial government set a fixed sum to cover ecclesiastical expenses. This provoked sectarian squabbles and encouraged opposition to state aid to churches, but in general the public preferred to have the state pay for religion.

The initial penal atmosphere affected, perhaps permanently, Australian churchgoing, for many among the congregations had been involuntary parishioners. Churchmen, however, tried to promote religious education, block moves for state-controlled secular education, and curb the "practical atheism" of the Australian masses.

The early schools had been Anglican. Governors Bourke and Gipps tried to institute the "Irish system" of nonsectarian schooling with daily religious instruction, according to the child's denomination. This was resisted by the Anglican hierarchy. A National Schools' Board ultimately succeeded in instituting an "Irish system" of state schools in 1849. Church school subsidies ended throughout the continent a quarter of a century later. The author believes that, despite apparent low religious morale in Australia, faith and zeal persisted. The churches never commanded majorities, but they made a mark on the secular society.

Father Ford, in the second book, is an admirer of Cardinal Moran of Australia (1885–1911) and of the social theories Moran injected into the ideological debates out of which the Australian Labor party emerged. Moran's sympathy for the working classes was balanced by a profound distaste for socialism. In making this case the author overplays Moran's encounters with the violence of Mazzini's Roman Republic of 1848, and with Irish Land League disorders, prior to going to Australia as archbishop of Sydney in 1885. As the dominant figure in Australia's largest religious minority, Moran fostered a moderate, nonsocialist trade-union movement, capable of massive strikes but disciplined against social revolution.

Moran encouraged the Labor party during its formative years (1891–1892), fought it in its high socialist era (1893–1897), and granted it a guarded approval thereafter. He had some sympathy for the milder versions that drew on Christian Socialism. But he set his face against the continental socialism of the Second International and the British Social Democratic Federation, the two streams that invigorated the Left Wing of the Australian Socialist League. Moran's influence upon Australia has survived in the Catholic Action movement, which still divides Australian Labor politics.

Included is a rare collection of period photographs of Australian Catholic and Leftist leaders.

Colgate University CHARLES S. BLACKTON

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THE EVOLUTION OF AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1938–1965. By *Alan Watt.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 387. $11.50.)

THE outstanding feature of Australia's foreign policy since the beginning of the Second World War has been the speed with which it reached maturity. From almost complete reliance upon Great Britain in the conduct of its foreign affairs Australia moved within three decades to the development of a full-fledged apparatus for the conduct of its international relations and a set of principles defining its basic national interests.

Several aspects of its approach to external problems testify to its maturity: the rational calculation of its needs; the recognition of its limited capabilities; the balanced choice of means to reach reasonable goals; the calm nature of its diplomacy. These are the facets of foreign policy the author is interested in demonstrating either expressly or by implication. He does it well by choosing some major problems Australian governments have had to deal with and showing how they were handled: the concern for security during the war that led to a loosening of some bonds with Great Britain and a close cooperation with the United States that has lasted; the rising importance of the Asian states and Australia's adjustment to the need for peaceful coexistence; the attempt of Australia as a leading "middle power" to shape the United Nations into an instrument useful for all nations and its judicious use of it; the reluctant acceptance of the Commonwealth's diminishing value. The growth of the fundamental features of Australia's foreign policy was accompanied by many internal disputes over its nature and by some failures. Labor governments gave the policy a different style than did conservative governments. The author himself has criticisms, some relating to details, some to fundamentals. Considering the novelty of policy making and the seriousness of some problems that had to be solved, nevertheless, the evolution of Australia's foreign policy proceeded remarkably smoothly and, more important, led to the fulfillment of Australian national interests—quite an achievement for a nation of limited means and so dependent in many matters upon other nations.

This descriptive, temperate, and evaluative account, by emphasizing the process of the development of foreign policy, can provide useful lessons for many new states on how they might successfully integrate themselves into the international society.

University of Hawaii WERNER LEVI

Americas

THE HISTORIAN AND THE DIPLOMAT: THE ROLE OF HISTORY AND HISTORIANS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Herbert Feis et al.* Edited by *Francis L. Loewenheim.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. ix, 213. $6.95.)

AT least since the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, scholars of history have been speculating on the connection between the writing and making of history, and the present book is one of the latest works of this genre.

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Francis L. Loewenheim, its editor, has written nearly half of the volume as historical introduction, the record since the eighteenth century, with a massive documentation. He has sharp opinions about the scholarship of some recent writers and believes that "large areas of American diplomatic history" are in "serious intellectual disarray." He fears, of course, for the influence of this literature on policy. The essay by Arno J. Mayer argues that historical thought and American foreign policy in the era of the First World War was an extension of the *Weltanschauung* of the "New Historians," including Wilson, who became prominent during the quarter century before the war. The thesis here is interesting: Wilson, in setting out the Fourteen Points, "proposed to mobilize the reformism of the Old World . . . to breathe new life into progressivism in the New World." Mayer writes that "it goes without saying that Henry Cabot Lodge and his cabal were more concerned with keeping progressivism in check at home than they were with the defeat of the Covenant." I would not be at all sure of the above. Was not Lodge a simple nineteenth-century traditionalist in foreign affairs, with a neat compartmentalization of his opinions on foreign and domestic matters? In the book's third essay Herbert Feis recalls some of the record keeping of government departments as he knew it, and ends with uncertainty as to how historians may influence future diplomacy; he hopes it will be for peace. The last essay, by Louis Morton, retraces historical events of the past three or more decades and shows how historians have been looking at them with different opinions. American history, he believes, has stressed experiment and diversity. All of these essays are well written.

If the theme, the relation of history and historians to foreign policy, sometimes blurs, the contributors moving off to their own theories or subjects, the result is always interesting, well worth reading in light of the present-day continuing crisis in foreign policy.

Indiana University ROBERT H. FERRELL

A HISTORY OF URBAN AMERICA. By *Charles N. Glaab* and *A. Theodore Brown*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 328. Cloth $6.95, paper $2.95.)

THE authors of this significant book have made a forthright effort "to use urban growth as the organizing theme in a study of the American past." By this action they have overcome the reluctance, felt by many historians in recent decades, to advance an urban interpretation of American history. They have sought, however, to avoid possible pitfalls in that course by refusing to subordinate their study of urbanization "to the periodization and other conventional categories of national history." This policy has inherent limitations, but the authors have produced an important and useful book.

A History of Urban America invites comparison with Constance M. Green's *The Rise of Urban America*. Both cover the same time span and follow with varying consistency the same periodization. Both bring to the task a rich store of knowledge and much experience in research. Both call freely and without specific citations on other published works in the field, and both make excellent reading. There the likenesses end, however, for while Green's interpretive essay, though

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much briefer, is more inclusive and fully rounded, Drs. Glaab and Brown have produced a more tightly reasoned and at the same time a more graphic account of the persistence of the urban factor in America's development.

This new book is solidly based on the earlier work of its two authors. In the preparation of his *The American City: A Documentary History* Glaab accumulated a mass of descriptive detail on many cities and employs it to advantage here. Yet he is able, with Brown, to acquire greater depth than such material generally affords because of their mutual researches into the history of Kansas City; indeed, the value of such intensive work as a preliminary to broader efforts is here clearly revealed. They make use of most of the available scholarly sources within the scope of their interests, yet the rigor with which they endeavor to exclude other variables sometimes obscures opportunities to apply their urban synthesis.

Thus in the first chapter they explicate Bridenbaugh's concept of the colonial cities as cradles of independence, but avoid comment on their leadership in revolution. In the next three chapters on the new national period, the most original portion of the book, they follow Wade's thesis of western cities as "spearheads" of the frontier and ably amplify the pattern of urban promotion and extension during the pre-Civil War decades. They depict cities in this period as nurseries of enterprise, but they shy away from an appraisal of their contributions to American culture and devote a chapter, instead, to the shifting opinions of the city held by Americans. In later chapters they extend the urban network across the continent, describe the increasing complexity of urban populations, note the changing spatial structure of the larger cities, and consider the relation of bosses and reformers to the "web of government." But, apparently to avoid a confusion of the urban process with the Industrial Revolution, they slight the industrial city, and, by neglecting social and cultural factors, they leave out other essential aspects of urban growth.

Since the authors explicitly warn that "Many themes relevant to American urban history have not been examined here," omissions can be deplored only if they weaken the analysis. When, however, as a result of their reluctance to appraise the impact of the city on the progressive movement, for example, or to consider its part in the economic transformation of the nation, they produce a static and fragmentary picture of the internal structure and dynamism of cities, the synthesis must be considered tentative.

In their last chapter, however, which is avowedly tentative, the authors take note of three vital aspects of recent urban history: the development of a matrix of metropolitan regions, the replacement of immigrants by Negroes as the key to urban community well-being, and the awakening of urban-federal relationships. Much remains to be said about these historic trends, but a synthesis that encompasses them has merit. And this informative book has other merits, including its demonstration that cities have not only "webs" and "milieus" but also inhabitants, some with wills of their own. The "Suggestions for Further Reading" are fairly adequate, but might have included a few urban geographers and recent urban economists.

Rochester, New York BLAKE MCKELVEY

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FROM PLANTATION TO GHETTO: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY OF AMERICAN NEGROES. By *August Meier* and *Elliott M. Rudwick*. (New York: Hill and Wang. 1966. Pp. vi, 280. $5.75.)

THIS is an excellent book in which the authors—a historian and a sociologist—"have attempted an analytical and interpretive history rather than a narrative account" of the Negro in America. The study is couched in a historical, sociocultural context running from the African backgrounds of the fifteenth century to the uncertainties of the contemporary civil rights movement. The authors have treated this broad period with balance and sensitivity; they have skillfully assembled their data and culled the literature to give the reader a penetrating and comprehensive account of the role that Negroes themselves have played in the evolution of American interracial relations. Not many books capture the Negro as the central figure; fewer still succeed in doing so without pandering to artificial stereotypes and sentimental visions. In avoiding such pitfalls and in correcting an array of popular misconceptions about black Americans, Meier and Rudwick have set a demanding standard for other contemporary analysts to match.

The book possesses, moreover, a certain generative quality. The authors treat a number of basic topics or themes that represent major points of departure for ongoing and additional historical research. These include the nature and impact of the African heritage, the motivations of white reformers, the dichotomous functions of black nationalism, the role of the Negro matrifocal family, and the shifting strategies characterizing the twentieth-century civil rights movement.

While the strength of the work stems from the authors' capacity to focus upon the Negro subculture and upon the activities of Negro groups, this occasionally leads to an overconcentration that scants the broader interrelationships with the dominant white society. The authors have also missed a splendid opportunity to suggest the extent to which the American value system's commitment to economic freedom and property rights foreordained the failure of emancipation and Reconstruction to ensure meaningful, long-range opportunities for the Negro. Finally, one would have expected a more direct and persistent attention throughout the study to the theme "plantation and ghetto" as an over-all coordinating device.

These exceptions notwithstanding, however, the book is done with such thoroughness and subtlety that it must stand as a classic indication of how the multidisciplinary approach can enrich historical understanding of the Negro and of American society's conduct in interracial matters.

Washington, D. C. ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO

TECHNOLOGY IN EARLY AMERICA: NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY. By *Brooke Hindle*. With a directory of artifact collections by *Lucius F. Ellsworth*. [Needs and Opportunities for Study Series.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1966. Pp. xix, 145. $4.50.)

THIS volume consists of two essays by Brooke Hindle and "A Directory of Artifact Collections" by Lucius F. Ellsworth.

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Using 1850 as his terminal date, Hindle calls for an intensive investigation of America's paleotechnic (or hand production) period and asserts that "colonial technology demands study." Like Eugene Ferguson, he is impressed by the critical changes in the character of American technology that occurred between the Revolution and 1850. He holds that this epic "deserves to be studied and recognized . . . as a central thread in American history." Further, he describes the transfer of technology from Europe to America and calls this transit "an essential element" in understanding our past. The immigration of artisans, mechanics, and engineers, the manuals and textbooks, and the visits of American promoters, engineers, and financiers to Europe contributed greatly to the technical growth of this new nation.

Hindle recognizes that much has been achieved by groups such as the Society for the History of Technology, the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology, the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, which cosponsored the 1965 conference for which the author prepared these essays, and Colonial Williamsburg. But he calls for this work to be intensified, for "the ultimate objective is to raise technology to its proper place within the context of early American history. It belongs very close to the center as an expression and a fulfillment of the American experience."

Hindle's second essay is a "severely limited in length and therefore highly selective" bibliography; he identifies the most useful materials available and evaluates the kinds of works published both before and since 1850. He observes that printed treatises and reports generally give a clearer picture than manuscript materials while artifacts provide information from their appearance, structure, and use. Among periodicals, he finds the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* most useful. Like others, he believes that the railroads best exemplified pre-1850 American technology, and his comments here are most incisive. He is amazed that so little study has been given to the nonhuman sources of energy and points out the contributions economic historians make to the history of technology. Only his section on European-American interchange falls short of expectations.

Ellsworth used a questionnaire (380 mailed, 168 responses) to gather information about some of the public and company collections of artifacts that could be useful for historians of technology. One is struck by the wide variety of holdings, the inaccessibility of many of these, and the limited number of known artifacts in certain fields. But the holdings of the Smithsonian, Bucks County Pennsylvania Historical Society, and Henry Ford Museum are noteworthy. Finally, Ellsworth urges some professional or governmental body to determine the feasibility of unified cataloguing of technological artifacts, a step necessarily preliminary to more penetrating research.

West Chester State College ROBERT E. CARLSON

THE CREEK FRONTIER, 1540–1783. By *David H. Corkran*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume LXXXVI.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 343. $5.95.)

THE principal Indian nations in the colonial and revolutionary Southeast were the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek. In 1962 Mr. Corkran gave us

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The Cherokee Frontier, our most detailed account of that nation during 1751–1762. Now in *The Creek Frontier* he gives us an overview of Creek developments during the two and one-half centuries from the arrival of the Spanish among them until, at the close of the American Revolution, their British allies abandoned them to the victorious Americans. In doing this he fills a gap in historical literature and thus achieves one of his two primary purposes. His other primary purpose is achieved in telling the story from the Creek point of view. Thus he emphasizes the influence in policy making of "such institutional factors as the iron-clad character of the clan tie, the prestigial influence of the elders, and the tribal expectation that the young men conduct themselves with boldness."

Although he does not call it such, Corkran's is in essence a study of Creek foreign policy, or, more specifically, of this nation's relations with its Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw neighbors to the north and west and its English, Spanish, and French neighbors to the east and south. In his last two chapters the author tells of Creek reaction to the American Revolution. The decentralization within the Creek confederacy made decision making difficult and decision enforcing even more difficult. On occasion the nation, or part of it, did go to war with a red or white neighbor; over the years, however, most high-level Creek leaders favored peace as a policy and disfavored entangling alliances. One of the book's best features is its assessments of the contributions of individual leaders to Creek statecraft.

To have covered so many years in so few pages is a tribute to the author's organizational skill, but occasional involved sentences interrupt a narrative that generally flows smoothly. While the eight illustrations pass muster, the index does not, and the two maps meet minimum requirements only. The author's footnotes attest to his wide-ranging research, but, if he used Spanish archival sources other than in the form of a few printed selections, he has not so informed the reader. Next, it is to be hoped, Corkran will turn his attention to the Chickasaw and Choctaw.

National Archives W. Neil Franklin

THE REDISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO, 1580–1594: THE EXPLORATIONS OF CHAMUSCADO, ESPEJO, CASTAÑO DE SOSA, MORLETE, AND LEYVA DE BONILLA AND HUMAÑA. By *George P. Hammond* and *Agapito Rey.* [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540–1940, Volume III.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 341. $12.50.)

With this volume the Coronado historical series has almost completed publication of the significant documents for Spanish penetration of the central Southwest. Provided here are source materials for four expeditions carried out in the interval between the march of Coronado in 1540–1542 and the occupation of the pueblo country by Oñate in 1598. The first of these four ventures, the Chamuscado-Rodríguez Expedition of 1581, reached the Canadian River. The Espejo Expedition of 1582 cut across the Southwest from Zuñi in the west to the Pecos River in Texas to the east. Castaño de Sosa in 1590 ascended the Pecos River Valley, and Juan Morlete came up that of the Rio Grande to join him in New

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Mexico. The last of these expeditions, that of Leyva and Humaña in 1593, went into the interior to reach the buffalo plains of southern Kansas.

The documentation includes official reports by the principals and accounts by other participants; petitions to the king and relevant correspondence growing out of the successive undertakings; recommendations by royal officials, the *audiencia,* and the Council of the Indies; and royal decrees. Some of these materials have been available in other publications, but a number of the most important ones come directly from the Archive of the Indies in Seville and represent a valuable new contribution. All are well annotated, and the work is accompanied by a twelve-page index. A sixty-page introduction helps set the documents in proper perspective and adds illuminating comment and analysis. This substantial addition to the historiography of the Southwest meets in every way the standard one would expect from the distinguished scholars who produced it.

University of Santa Clara EDWIN A. BEILHARZ

THE HEART PREPARED: GRACE AND CONVERSION IN PURITAN SPIRITUAL LIFE. By *Norman Pettit.* [Yale Publications in American Studies, Number 11.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 252. $5.75.)

To most readers today the theological concerns that occupied and often usurped all of the intellectual activities of the seventeenth-century Puritan clergy seem almost as remote from reality as the religious beliefs that revolved around Ptah and Thoth in ancient Egypt. The present volume treats in painstaking detail one aspect of Puritan theology that, the author points out, has been neglected. Considering the volume of writing on the Puritans in the past two decades, it is astonishing that an essential element in their dogma should have escaped doctoral treatment. Mr. Pettit supplies this omission with a careful dissection of what he describes as "the interior life with the conversion experience . . . the concept of preparation for grace."

As he states in his preface, the reformers of the sixteenth century for the most part made "no allowance . . . for the biblical demand to prepare the heart for righteousness. In strict predestinarian dogma the sinner was taken by storm—his heart wrenched from depravity to grace. He could neither anticipate salvation nor look to the inner self for signs of regeneration."

But gradually some Puritans modified this notion and came to believe that man, though depraved, might by anxiety and thought prepare for the coming of grace. If he could not will his own salvation, he might make himself spiritually and intellectually ready to receive divine grace when it came. As Pettit expresses it in an epilogue to his discussion, "the 'heart prepared' emerged from under the shadow and tyranny of the doctrine of divine coercion. Man, said its exponents, must be allowed to desire. He must look to God with expectation; he must want to be reconciled with his creator before the moment arrives."

Ironically, John Cotton's rejection of this notion of preparation for divine grace led to the great Antinomian controversy in Boston in 1636–1637 and the trial and expulsion of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Cotton asserted that no effort on the part of the individual, no hint of "works," but only the seizure that came

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from the sudden realization that God had vouchsafed him grace could bring about conversion. From this doctrine, only a short step led to Mrs. Hutchinson's belief in a sort of inner light revealing salvation, a doctrine that most Puritans, including Cotton, eventually condemned.

Pettit has carefully combed the theological literature of the day and presented in orderly fashion the evidence for the notion of spiritual preparation for grace. His work further illuminates the bickering that went on amongst the Puritan clergy in Massachusetts Bay. This volume, like most that deal with Puritan theology, gives no indication of the influence, if any, of fine-spun points of dogma on the general public. For the most part, these rows were too technical for the laity. But they were important so long as Massachusetts Bay remained a theocracy. Dissension among the clergy helps to explain the movement of congregations under their ministers to other localities in the early days. But, generally, the impact of dogmatic theology upon the population as a whole has been vastly exaggerated. It is doubtful whether more than a "saving remnant," even in the palmiest days of theology in Massachusetts Bay, sat around "preparing their hearts" for salvation by grace.

Folger Shakespeare Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

WILLIAM PENN: POLITICS AND CONSCIENCE. By *Mary Maples Dunn.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 206. $6.00.)

THIS book provides the best available guide to the political thought of William Penn. It is indeed a guide for the perplexed, for Penn was neither systematic nor always a consistent thinker, and his numerous tracts have largely eluded the grasp of modern scholarship and editorial enterprises. They remain scattered, inaccessible, and often shrouded by the shadows of seventeenth-century anonymity. Penn wrote in response to particular problems, and, while an abiding concern for liberty of conscience underlay many of them, Penn's strategy and tactics changed, notably during the 1680's.

Professor Dunn's analysis is as subtly related to her organization as tendrils intertwined on a trellis. There are six chapters. The first covers Penn's early involvement in politics, especially legal struggles and electioneering. The second provides an examination of Penn's political writings during the same period (1662–1681). The third concentrates upon both events and ideas in the pivotal years 1680–1683, when Penn's efforts toward establishing a colonial charter and viable government are related to the complex circumstances of late Carolinian politics. Chapter IV follows Penn's affairs in England, particularly relations with James II at a time when Penn's hopes and fears for his colony necessarily modified his methods in fighting for liberty of conscience. The penultimate chapter retraces almost the same years (1684–1689), explaining the changing orientation of Penn's pamphlets. His earlier emphasis upon contract theory was antithetical to James's concept of monarchy; therefore Penn's theoretical justification for liberty yielded to a new emphasis upon expediency and interest. Still he continued to believe that toleration was the paramount political issue. Chapter VI spans the years from 1689 to about 1710 when Penn was less creative and less active in defense of religious liberty. His politics was shaped by the need to protect his

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property, and his policies were directed toward seeking peace in an era of international conflict.

William Penn is essentially a portrait of the young idealist turned proprietor. With the responsibilities of middle age weighing heavily upon him, he was obliged to seek new ways of implementing his early ideals. Ironically, his latent conservatism became accentuated thereby. His antipathy to change, his occasional misjudgment of men and power, his misunderstanding of sovereignty, and his tendency to oversimplify complex situations would bring him considerable grief. Even so, the author concludes that Penn never lost sight of his great goal: "he wanted to make possible, not only for Quakers but for the world at large, the free operation of God's grace."

Curiously, the author never mentions E. C. O. Beatty's *William Penn as Social Philosopher* (1939), which devotes considerable attention to political ideas. Among the recent literature Dunn's book is an excellent complement to the more personal and comprehensive biography by C. O. Peare, and to J. E. Illick's *William Penn the Politician*. Dunn's work is remarkably detailed and substantial for such a slender volume, and it is blessed among studies of political thought in conveying a careful sense of chronological development. The style is eminently readable and concise. Proprietor Penn has done well by Professor Dunn's pen.

Cornell University MICHAEL G. KAMMEN

JAMES CLAYPOOLE'S LETTER BOOK: LONDON AND PHILADELPHIA, 1681–1684. Edited by *Marion Balderston*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1967. Pp. vii, 256. $7.50.)

IN her introduction to *Claypoole's Letter Book* Mrs. Balderston says, somewhat apologetically, "It might be expected that such a letter book would be a dry record of prices, exports and imports, credits and debits, interesting only to economic historians and statisticians." She goes on to give a brief but detailed description of Claypoole's early business career and conversion to Quakerism, his friendship with William Penn, his work in drafting the Frame of Government for Pennsylvania, and his conscientious, if unsuccessful, work as treasurer of the Free Society of Traders, suggesting that these activities, rather than the "dry record of prices" make up the "romantic story" of Claypoole's life as told in the letter book. One wishes this were so.

Admittedly there are some fascinating letters in the middle of the book indicating the general hopes and anxieties as well as the particular plans of a London merchant migrating with his family to the new colony. (Claypoole comes to life in the letters at the end of 1682 when he is completing his plans to move.) But there is tantalizingly little in the letters concerning Claypoole's influence on and relations with Penn; there is not much about the Frame of Government; and the letter book ends before Claypoole's worst troubles with the Free Society began. To get to the interesting material one must read through a mass of letters which do in fact tend to be financial complaints to a few business associates—the "dry record of prices" which the editor laments.

For the introduction the editor has done extensive research to uncover the de-

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tails of Claypoole's life, although many questions are left unanswered. What, in fact, did Penn really think of Claypoole? Why did Claypoole go to Philadelphia in the first place? How exactly did he contribute to the failure of the Free Society of Traders? Instead of formal introductions to letters and regular footnotes the editor has put italicized comments between letters, which identify references in the previous letter, summarize omitted letters, and introduce the following printed letters. She did this in hopes that the letters "can be read as a running story," and there is merit in the attempt. The particular mixture of footnote references for one letter with introductory material for the next is confusing in places, however.

American University ALISON G. OLSON

RELIGION, POLITICS, AND DIVERSITY: THE CHURCH-STATE THEME IN NEW YORK HISTORY. By *John Webb Pratt.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 327. $7.50.)

THE distinguishing mark of this excellent study is Professor Pratt's determination not to be trapped into an analytic exploration of the logical conundrums of church-state relations, nor into a survey of the semantic implications of Jefferson's phrase "the wall of separation." He is a historian, concerned with those moments in New York's more than three hundred years of history when conflicts were engendered because of religious diversity. He is not committed, moreover, to such a dogmatic view of development as informed Brooks Adams' *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* or writers of POAU persuasion. Instead, he keeps clearly in mind that individuals and groups expect various things from society, like the right to worship as they please or the cooperation of the state in helping socialize their children to their own ideals; he recognizes also that at least by the end of the eighteenth century most New Yorkers had come to believe that a generalized formula like "the separation of church and state" provided the most reliable approximate rule. Whether deep-felt group interest or general principle would prevail in the resolution of a specific conflict depended, Pratt shows, on the character of the conflict. New Yorkers, confronted with the question whether taxes should be used to support one church out of many, or with the question whether the testimony of an atheist should be accepted in court, eventually decided that the principle of separation overbalanced other interests. But when the issue juxtaposed what some New Yorkers believed to be the free exercise of religion with what others considered tantamount to an establishment of religion, Pratt believes that New Yorkers learned to seek in law and politics an enlightened "accommodation." His study of how the 1894 constitutional convention decided what the "Blaine Amendment" should cover and about what it should be silent illustrates why he believes New York history, in this perspective, is a success story.

Because his book is neither an exhaustive social history of New York diversity nor an encyclopedia of church-state conflicts, not all readers will be inclined to render such a sanguine verdict. And Pratt acknowledges that the possibilities of specifically New York accommodation may be reduced in the future by the massive intervention of the federal government, whether in congressional

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welfare acts, administrative "guidelines," or Supreme Court decisions affecting both the absolute rights of individuals and the character of the political process.

Hunter College ROBERT D. CROSS

THE WRITINGS OF CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN, 1746–1805. Edited by *Richard Walsh*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xxviii, 342. $10.00.)

FOR a man who played such an important role in the American Revolution, Christopher Gadsden apparently had little sense of history. Had he given more thought to the future, he might have attempted to preserve more of his writings, although many may have been destroyed when his warehouse burned in 1783. Yet there is a certain carelessness about the man that is most evident in his correspondence.

Gadsden was a passionate man, of strong likes and dislikes, whose character emerges throughout his writings. Similarly, there was a perceptible change from liberal to conservative as he grew older. In the forefront of the revolutionary movement in South Carolina, leader of the mechanics and a "Tribune" of the people, Gadsden in his later years became fearful of the tyranny of the mob. He was an early advocate of independence, more so than any other South Carolina politician, yet he wanted liberty with order. And as a member of the Continental Congress he alienated the powerful Rutledges, perhaps because he was so often willing to sacrifice local for national interests. And after the war he was the most ardent of Federalists.

Gadsden has sometimes been termed a southern counterpart of Sam Adams, and he seemed to view himself in that light. In fact, he once wrote Adams that "Massachusetts sounded the Trumpet, but to Carolina is it owing that it was attended to . . . and had it not been for her I believe you are well convinced no Congress wou'd have then happen'd, and Boston wou'd, if not been entirely ruin'd, continued much longer in her distresses." His letters to Adams suggest that Gadsden felt they were cut from the same cloth.

An essay signed "Philopatrios" early in 1761 and criticizing the conduct of the Cherokee War of 1761–1762 marked Gadsden's entry into political controversy. His real involvement in the dispute with Great Britain apparently came when he was selected as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress.

Professor Walsh has gathered those writings of Gadsden that have never before been published and has noted those that have been printed elsewhere. Through no fault of the editor, this is a ragged collection with substantial gaps in the correspondence, especially between July 6, 1779, and August 10, 1781. And much of his correspondence during the war years is concerned with his dispute and subsequent duel with Major General Robert Howe.

Walsh has successfully resisted the temptation to overedit. Perhaps a separate bibliography of Gadsden's writings that have been published elsewhere would have added to the value of this otherwise well-edited and excellent volume.

Tulane University HUGH F. RANKIN

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THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume X, JANUARY 1, 1762, THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1763. *Leonard W. Labaree,* Editor. *Helen C. Boatfield et al.,* Assistant Editors. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xxviii, 459. $12.50.)

In 1762, after five years as agent for the Pennsylvania Assembly, Franklin left England. But, after "this one Vibration," he wrote, he expected to return "for ever." Why? The first third of this volume, covering Franklin's last eight months in England, offers some suggestions. There were diverse friendships and an almost familial relationship with young Polly Stevenson and her "Mama." He left behind a life of "Fashion and Expence" and had to redraft a controversial expense account lest he seem to have been extravagant. Oxford made him a doctor of civil law. "The greatest Geniuses" of England, wrote William Strahan, "admire and love him, and lament his Departure."

In America, Franklin plunged into Assembly business, serving on eleven committees. He proudly accompanied his son to New Jersey, where William took office as governor. Franklin began the construction of a new house, belying his repeated claims that he would move to England. But if he was not to become an Englishman, he was not to remain simply a Philadelphian: during his first year he spent more time traveling than at home. Most of this was on post-office business, and he began a five-month grand tour of the Northeast in June 1763.

Franklin knew of no "Offence" against the Indians and attributed Pontiac's Uprising to "mere Relish . . . for Plunder"; peace should not be made until the "vain and insolent" Indians were "well chastis'd." He showed no interest in another explanation offered to him by Quakers: the white man might be at fault. A more humane reaction is foreshadowed in the first reference to the Paxton Boys' murder of the Moravian Indians. (Franklin's surprise at the intelligence of Negro students and his readiness to acknowledge his "Prejudices" present an interesting contrast in racial attitudes.)

This volume contains much scientific correspondence—and some unscientific: we see the Age of Reason run wild as Franklin offers what the editors call "ingenious but invalid" justifications for a Northwest Passage hoax that had him "completely taken in." Amidst evidence of many-sidedness, another theme presents itself: how do we square Franklin the revolutionary leader with the Franklin contemplating a move to the "HAPPY ISLAND!" and sending off to England king-worshipping works of young American poets? Franklin seems to be defining himself. Is he American or English, imperialist or colonial, Philadelphian or continental? The poems are nonetheless *American;* Franklin is publicizing them, showing that "the Arts . . . travel Westward." And so does empire: Franklin's physical expansionism expresses itself in discussion of westward movement, speculation, and settlement.

The editing maintains the same high standards set in previous volumes. Some might prefer a slightly different balance between the attention given to tangibles —such as fish glue—and the brief attention given to certain intangibles such as the circumstances of William's appointment as governor and the father's departure from England ten days before the son's wedding (although the editors suggest that the sources have been exhausted unproductively on these matters). The edi-

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tors do not hesitate to deflate Franklin when he deserves it, and their essays on the Northwest Passage hoax and the armonica make rewarding reading in themselves.

University of Chicago JESSE LEMISCH

NEW SMYRNA: AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GREEK ODYSSEY. By *E. P. Panagopoulos.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 207. $7.50.)

HERE we have a delightful and readable book sketching a rather isolated but colorful historical episode—a minor epic in colonial America along the subtropical shores of Florida, near where today our conquest of the moon and space is in full swing. When Florida became English in 1763, the Scotsman, Dr. Andrew Turnbull, collected Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans in the Mediterranean to establish a colony below St. Augustine, which he called New Smyrna. The planning, establishment, and collapse of this strange colony is a fascinating episode of Florida history worthy of a great novel or a great movie, but it is an isolated chapter of Florida's past that is of little importance to the great sweep of the state's history under so many flags.

Panagopoulos is a native of Greece and a graduate of the University of Athens, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He now teaches history at San Jose State College, and he is a frequent visitor to St. Augustine, Florida. His previous publications attest to his scholarly skill.

To the specialized scholar this book has a few flaws. Contrary to what the dust jacket states and although there are commendable footnotes indicating the use of worthy primary material, the author has discovered little that is new or that changes the story of New Smyrna as we know it. The late Carita Doggett Corse's 1919 study of Dr. Andrew Turnbull and Mr. Kenneth H. Beeson's 1959 thesis on the New Smyrna colony have covered the ground adequately; apparently Panagopoulos used both diligently, giving due recognition to Corse for her pioneer efforts but somewhat slighting Beeson. There is no doubt that Panagopoulos has located a few new sources and made an enthusiastic effort in many parts of the world to find everything possible connected with his story.

He is at his best when he sketches the forming of the New Smyrna expedition in Europe. Later the book becomes more a story of the leading political personalities and events in English St. Augustine, among which Turnbull played a key role. There is little, mostly because of the absence of documentation, about the actual activities within New Smyrna. When sketching "the last dramatic phase" of the colony, Panagopoulos has nothing new to offer except to retell that "for more than 150 years an account about it has been transmitted orally and unchanged from generation to generation among the descendants of these settlers."

The author has produced a delightful book based on every available source. The story of New Smyrna has again been told; it still is fragmentary but I think it will remain so. The author could not have produced a better or more readable book.

University of South Florida CHARLES W. ARNADE

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JEFFERSON AND FRANCE: AN ESSAY ON POLITICS AND POLITICAL IDEAS. By *Lawrence S. Kaplan.* [Yale Historical Publications, The Wallace Notestein Essays, Number 5.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 175. $5.75.)

In this handsome book Mr. Kaplan attempts to re-examine Jefferson's relations with France throughout his lifetime. The author generally writes well and in an interesting manner. While this is essentially a study in diplomatic history, some attention is given to Jefferson's cultural relations with France. Jefferson is portrayed fundamentally as a Francophile from the time of the Franco-American alliance. According to Kaplan, Jefferson fell victim, though unwittingly, to "the designs of French imperialism and to the magnetism of the [French] Revolution." Jefferson, however, understood the importance to American society of an equilibrium in Europe. He erroneously assumed that the balance was essentially in favor of Great Britain. The author concludes that "France's potential service as America's agent in Europe was the critical factor" in Jefferson's attitude toward France during the period of the Revolution and Napoleon.

It is not always possible to agree with Kaplan's judgments. The author is overly critical of Jefferson's actions. The statesman at times appears as a petty figure as, for example, when Kaplan attempts to explain the degree of support of the French Revolution by the Secretary of State as being motivated partly by jealousy of Hamilton's brilliance. Earlier, when Jefferson was minister to France, Kaplan attributes his increasing concern about strong government in the United States primarily to his desire to please the French liberals, rather than to the fears of monarchy aroused by what he saw in Europe. Later, was the sage of Monticello wrong in considering Great Britain, the mistress of the seas since Trafalgar, the chief enemy of the United States from 1807 until the end of the Napoleonic era? Did Jefferson misread the scales of power? After all, who won the Anglo-French wars? Was England, as Kaplan asserts, the aggrieved party in the wars with France from 1793? It must be recalled that in one respect these wars were merely the continuation of a century-old struggle between the two great powers. Historians may differ, however, on many of these questions.

The book has certain shortcomings. It lacks at times the type of analysis and the nuances that a more careful culling of the relevant primary and secondary sources would have made possible. Jefferson's reactions to France are sometimes oversimplified. There are, in addition, a number of errors, especially with regard to French developments: Jefferson's French friends in 1789 did not include "moderate republicans"; the composition of the National Assembly is confused with that of the Legislative Assembly; France was not a republic in 1791; the chronology of the French Revolution from 1792 to 1795 is confused.

A more incisive and comprehensive picture than is provided in this book is possible if more weight is given to the revolutionary atmosphere that pervaded the Atlantic civilization in the period and to the fact that in the age of liberal revolutions Jefferson, champion of the rights of man, was one of the most prominent liberals.

Brooklyn College Joseph I. Shulim

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HISTORY AS ARGUMENT: THREE PATRIOT HISTORIANS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *William Raymond Smith*. [Studies in American History, Number 5.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 207. 26 gls.)

Dr. Smith's book, an earlier version of which was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Committee on the History of Culture of the University of Chicago, offers several theses about American historical writing. First, Americans have, from the beginning of their history, self-consciously sought to build a city on a hill, a model Christian society in a new world, and they have expressed this striving in all of their literature, including their historiography. Second, the "patriot" historians of the revolutionary era, the special subject of Smith's study, shared with each other and with their generation "a vocabulary of republicanism" that concerned, among other items, the uses of history, the nature of man, the limitations of human freedom, the essential character of American experience, and the role of America as a model for the world.

The third, and by far Smith's most important, thesis is that the study of American historical writing has thus far proceeded from approaches that are "questionable" and "not sufficient." To correct the insufficiencies, Smith proposes a new method of study, one that intensively analyzes an individual work of history, that examines it "as a primary, rather than secondary, source," that "details the historian's assumptions," and that is "based upon the contention that the operation of a system of thought depends upon its structure because, like any piece of coherent writing, a work of history represents a system of thought, a structure designed to solve a problem." In forming "a synthesis of the assumption and structure of each history," one will perceive not only how the history has served as argument but also how the conclusion a historian arrives at "follows logically from form of argument and premises." Although the three "patriot" historians whom Smith considers—David Ramsay, Mercy Otis Warren, and John Marshall—"were all nationalists, their disagreement on premises and forms of argument" led them to view the Revolution and its consequences in substantially different ways.

Smith pursues his theses in the five chapters of his book: the first defines his new method of studying historiography (a method that "could be used in reading any intellectual text"); the next three analyze the works of each of his historians; and the final one compares their respective premises and the different kinds of arguments that shaped their respective histories. In suggesting that the form of a historian's argument, considered as a rhetorical device, itself determines the historian's interpretation of the past, Smith is apparently applying to a particular theme the general ideas of the late Richard M. Weaver, whose significant influence he acknowledges and whose book on *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (1953) seems to have suggested much of Smith's basic approach. One may infer from the approach, indeed, that Marshall McLuhan's famous aphorism is being extended to the study of historiography. If the medium is the message, the argument is the history.

Smith's book has decided shortcomings. He presents his thesis neither comprehensively nor, in certain respects, comprehensibly. I have quoted him at some length to indicate the kind of opaque language that he often uses. One is, in fact,

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never entirely sure that he understands the elements and the application of Smith's new method of studying American historiography. Far from making his concepts clear, he repeats them, in varying forms, hoping possibly to convey by repetition what should have been clarified in one adequate explanation. Again, he does not explain his basic terms as much as he tries to illustrate them by analogy: the mode of using a work of history as a primary source is suggested by relating it to the experience of seeing a play, and a "system of thought" is explained by comparing it, over two long pages, with an electronic system.

Smith's new method purports to demonstrate how a historian's premises and assumptions shape his history. The fact is, however, that in discussing Ramsay, Warren, and Marshall, Smith does not establish a firm and certain connection between their histories, on the one hand, and their respective assumptions and premises, on the other. Indeed, the latter, considering their importance in determining "the form of the argument," receive rather skimpy treatment, with limited reference either to the historians' own language or to their works. If Smith's thesis is that a work of history should be studied as a primary rather than as a secondary source, moreover, he offers no convincing demonstration of the practice or validity of his thesis in using the writings of three individuals who were in effect writing contemporary history and, indeed, tracts for their times.

Smith claims too much for himself and credits his predecessors with too little. They too have been concerned with a historian's assumptions, and they too have known that his assumptions have shaped his argument. This was precisely the subject of Bulletin 54 of the Social Science Research Council, to which, incidentally, Smith never refers; when Bulletin 54 appeared, in 1946, it summarized a dialogue that historians had been carrying on for years. Indeed, his familiarity with the literature of American historical writing seems to be limited. He lumps the basic manuals on the history of our historiography into a single footnote, dismisses most of them rather cavalierly, and hardly, if ever, refers to them again. For someone postulating so grand a method, a broader canvassing of the literature would appear to have been warranted. It is fair to say too that two of Smith's theses—those relating to the idea of a city upon a hill in our historiography and to the "vocabulary of republicanism" that the patriot historians shared—receive less treatment than his stress of their importance in the introduction would have led us to expect.

Despite these shortcomings, Smith's book has certain merits. In its three central chapters it gives us the essentials of what the "patriot" historians were writing about and how, in particular, they addressed themselves to basic questions about the American Revolution: its nature, causes, and consequences, and the reasons for its success. The last chapter offers an intelligent comparison of what the historians thought about each of these questions and tries to define their shared assumptions by contrasting them with those of some "Tory" historians: Galloway, Stedman, and Oliver. This chapter also attempts to spell out the terms of the argument that each "patriot" historian used and to show how he used the argument both as an interpretation of past history and as a stand on present politics.

Smith is also to be commended for having raised again the fundamental question about the nature and purpose of our historical writing and for having

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ventured to answer the question. By urging that historiography would be best studied as "argument," he has tried to perceive it from yet another perspective. In claiming too much for himself, he has probably run the risk of being credited with too little. But there is a virtue in his having tried. A man's reach should, after all, exceed his grasp. It would have been easier to accept Smith's effort if he had been more fully aware that many before him have reached and that several of them—masters of their art—also grasped what they reached for.

Brooklyn College ABRAHAM S. EISENSTADT

NEW JERSEY'S JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICANS: THE GENESIS OF AN EARLY PARTY MACHINE, 1789–1817. By *Carl E. Prince.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1967. Pp. xvi, 266. $7.50.)

WITHIN the past two decades several books have been written on the origin and growth of state political parties during the first thirty years of our national existence. The authors of these books, avoiding the speculations and temptations of the psychological-sociological approach to political behavior, have concentrated instead on the hard realities of the workaday world of partisan structure, organization, and function.

In both motivation and accomplishment this study fits snugly into this methodological pattern. It raises, essentially, one disarmingly simple question: how did the Jeffersonian Republicans in New Jersey, within the space of a few years, manage to overwhelm the Federalist opposition so effectively as to render it almost impotent? As in several other states, the answers are to be found in evidence of superior organizational techniques, effective use of newspapers, stimulation of the electorate, and the successful exploitation of state and national issues. These answers flow logically and reasonably from a mass of information that has been well digested and organized, but taken either singly or comprehensively, they are by no means simple. They reveal certain ironies and paradoxes that, if not unknown in party development outside of New Jersey, reveal themselves in that state in a singular and rather unique light. One illustration of the ironical attitude of the Republicans toward the exercise of political power was to be found in the contrast between their professions of democracy and their actual practice of it. The charges of aristocracy and oligarchy they hurled at the Federalists would, in the interests of consistency, appear to make it expedient, if not mandatory, for them to champion a wider participation of the people in the electoral process, especially in nomination procedures. This they did. Beginning in 1800 they undertook to create a state-wide system which, when complete, was based on township and county organizations and capped with a state nominating convention. The democracy implied, however, was more apparent than real. A convention was called in 1800, for example, to select congressional candidates, but the slate of nominees was helpfully prepared in advance for the convention's approval. That performance would be typical of the hierarchy-dominated Republican organization in New Jersey for years. Bossism was dominant in both parties, but it was ironical that the Federalists, accused of holding the people in contempt, were

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thoroughly trounced by Republican managers operating behind a popular façade whose "democracy" was as illusory as it was effective.

The composition of the Republican leadership revealed another paradox. Although the party often claimed derivation from the agrarian element of society, the leadership "did not at all mirror the stereotype of the virtuous farmer leading the uprising against aristocratic and mercantile Federalism." Economically speaking, it was classless. Of the thirty-three outstanding party leaders in twelve of the thirteen counties in the state, only six were farmers. This figure was equaled by the number of merchants, and, curiously enough, it was exceeded by the number of doctors who were represented by seven men, the largest number in any occupational group. There was no agrarian "revolution" in this period of New Jersey's history.

At only a slight risk of distorting Prince's conclusions, it would seem safe to say that his description of a highly organized and sophisticated group of politicians at work in New Jersey from 1800 to 1817 will provide ammunition for those historians who find "Jacksonian Democracy" much less innovative than an older generation of scholars thought it was. However that may be, his work is a solid contribution to our knowledge of political parties, a welcome addition to the new studies that are gradually modifying the traditional view of political behavior in the early years of the republic.

Temple University HARRY M. TINKCOM

THOMAS NUTTALL, NATURALIST: EXPLORATIONS IN AMERICA, 1808–1841. By *Jeannette E. Graustein.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 481. $11.95.)

THOMAS Nuttall (1786–1859) was born in England. When he came to the United States in 1808, he settled in Philadelphia. He was, however, a compulsive traveler and collector, especially of plants, but he later became interested in birds. In 1810 he set out with an exploring party and traveled up the Missouri River as far as the Yellowstone. Next he explored the partly settled region east of the Mississippi from the Great Lakes to New Orleans. At one time or another he covered almost the entire United States. In 1834 he went overland to the Oregon Territory whence he sailed to Hawaii. From Hawaii he sailed to California and then around Cape Horn to Boston. In 1823 he joined the Harvard faculty, but when he inherited an estate in England in 1842, he returned to his native country where he died in 1859.

As a scientific explorer and a competent biologist he naturally discovered many new species and even some new genera. His great work, *Genera of North American Plants,* was published in 1818. Three years later he published the *Journal of Travels in the Arkansas Territory* and, in 1832, his *Manual of the Ornithology of the United States and Canada.* His reputation rests essentially on these works. Nuttall, as a widely traveled scholar, met and corresponded with many leading citizens of the United States. Since the details of his many journeys tell us much about the state of our frontiers in the early nineteenth century, their historic interest may, to some extent, transcend their present scientific value. Nuttall's importance was recognized during his life, and, following his death,

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several brief biographies were published. Unfortunately, these earlier biographies are both inadequate and inaccurate, but these deficiencies have now been corrected.

The author of this excellent biography has given us a detailed, scholarly, and definitive account both of Nuttall's travels and of his scientific accomplishments. Her work is fully documented, but the footnotes are inconveniently concentrated at the back of the book. *Thomas Nuttall* is a valuable book for those interested in the history of early nineteenth-century America and in the history of American biology.

University of Pennsylvania CONWAY ZIRKLE

THE OREGON QUESTION: ESSAYS IN ANGLO-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND POLITICS. By *Frederick Merk*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 427. $7.95.)

WITHIN four years Professor Frederick Merk has published three major works on nineteenth-century American expansion and diplomacy. This collection of thirteen essays, including *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem* which was first published as a monograph in 1950, is the third volume in the trilogy. Ten of the essays have appeared in print over the past forty years. Three are printed for the first time: "The Oregon Question in 1818"; "Sea Power and the Oregon Boundary Settlement," perhaps the least persuasive of the writings; and "Arbitration Only at the Cannon's Mouth!" The essays are published in their original form, so there is considerable repetition. A twenty-two-page résumé, however, places the high points of the interpretation in chronological sequence.

Merk's major theme is that the "definitive forces" at work in Oregon were not fur traders or missionaries and farmers but diplomacy and politics, the "summations of interrelated forces at work in . . . national and international society." With this emphasis, the work is a companion volume to *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (1963) and *The Monroe Doctrine and American Expansionism, 1843–1849* (1966). This latest book provides the historical background for the climacteric of the 1840's, emphasizing the British scene and using the Oregon crisis as a laboratory study of the major themes explored in the first two works.

A lesser figure than Merk probably would not deserve a volume that mostly includes articles, even a monograph, already in print. But Merk's views on nineteenth-century expansion are important, and it is helpful to have them so easily at hand. In the course of these writings he has discovered new sources of American expansion, reinterpreted the origins and development of the Monroe Doctrine, demonstrated how domestic interests shaped foreign policies on both sides of the Atlantic, and gently raised questions about Polk and the more disreputable aspects of American expansion glossed over by other historians. *The Oregon Question* is a fitting culmination to the trilogy.

Cornell University WALTER LAFEBER

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THE HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE. Volume I. By *Glenn Weaver.* (Hartford, Conn.: Trinity College Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 363. $12.50.)

EACH book added to the already long shelf of college and university histories reinforces an impression that such writing constitutes, by virtue of its mass, an important genre. The other meaning of that word raises the question of quality: how far is a particular history from being merely the equivalent of a genre painting, a picture of an academic interior and of the doings there? It is bootless to criticize the author of a college history for writing local history. His work is necessarily that, but does it turn inward in heuristic thrust, or does it escape from institutional piety and parochialism?

This history of Trinity College from its founding to a " 'comfortable' " period during the 1930's lucidly presents much detailed information about the succession of administrations at Trinity, about its relation to the Episcopal Church, and about its curriculum, finances, recruitment of faculty and students, social and athletic activities, and so forth; the reader senses the style and flux of life at the college. Professor Weaver refuses to gloss over the fact that its energies did sometimes ebb dangerously; indeed, he intimates that comfortable periods are brief in the history of a college. He looks beyond the Trinity campus, in particular to remark candidly upon those putative marks of the college that actually were commonplace features of its kind. Yet sometimes the details cut off the view: part of the space devoted to the history of the Lemon Squeezer might well have been used to explore the reasons why such incidents as the theft of a squeezer—or of a little brown jug elsewhere—have had the place they occupy in the experience of attending college in America. The reader also wants to know more about the impact of Anglicanism in its collegiate aspect, and he wonders what it means, in the history of American religion and education, that, despite association with an important church, a college has to seek support in its town. Trinity did this to such an extent that it became nicknamed the "Hartford Local." And why did Trinity flourish during the Great Depression? An answer to that seeming paradox, which Weaver only defines, might help to illuminate the history both of higher education and of the nation.

University of Chicago RICHARD J. STORR

JACKSONIAN ARISTOCRACY: CLASS AND DEMOCRACY IN NEW YORK, 1830–1860. By *Douglas T. Miller.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 228. $6.00.)

IN this clearly written, well-organized, and compact study Professor Miller argues that social and economic equality did not accompany political egalitarianism in the Age of Jackson in New York State. Until the mid-1820's New York society was a homogeneous, middle-class order. Originally Jacksonianism came to stand for equality—soon after defined as equality of opportunity—and the Jacksonian ethos created a climate for the amassing of great new fortunes in manufacturing and related ventures. As a "wealthy overgrown bourgeoisie" or "plutocracy" formed, the Jacksonian ideal of equality receded, for the rich took on the char-

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acteristics of an aristocracy in such things as "wealth, rank, manners, dress, speech, family, and intellect." This new capitalistic aristocracy was city centered and married into old families; it became more exclusive than European high society and more powerful than any earlier elite group in America. The Jacksonian aristocracy was a product as well as a measure of American social mobility.

During these years a similar revolution took place at the other end of the social scale as a result of immigration and industrialization. Hordes of common laborers came to America and created a labor surplus and depressed wages. Industry, anxious to use immigrant workers, rationalized its function to accommodate the unskilled. Native artisans, unemployed or underpaid, organized unions and applied political pressure, but they were unsuccessful, on the whole; their economic base eroded, and their social mobility was reduced. A rising cost of living in the 1850's exacerbated labor's situation, and pauperism and rioting characterized the decade. Industrialization and immigration, therefore, intensified the stratification of American society and increased social consciousness.

This interesting and original book challenges many of our assumptions about the Jackson era. Miller's most striking accomplishment is his skillful depiction of the great economic transformation of New York and its impact on employers and workers. The Hofstadter-Dorfman thesis on the nature of Jacksonianism easily embraces his economic findings, while his few political observations do not challenge the findings of Dixon Ryan Fox who charted the decline of the landed aristocracy in New York politics, or Lee Benson who accepts the dominant theme of political equality in pre-Civil War America. Miller is not, however, altogether convincing in his delineation of class structure. In writing of class structure and mobility he would have done us more of a service to have relied more on primary sources and less on travel accounts, old New York histories, and diaries. By using the 1845 and, especially, the 1855 New York State Census, it is possible to construct exact yardsticks to measure the changing economic, and social, status of New Yorkers. And more and better evidence is needed before one throws out, even for one generation, Oscar Handlin's thesis that "immigration . . . endowed the social structure with fluidity." Finally, Miller's social history would be more authoritative if he had tied it a bit more to politics. We can more objectively know about mass attitudes in the prepollster era by examining voting patterns. We are now fortunate in having sophisticated statistical instruments to do the job, and it is incumbent on us all to test our hypotheses with our best tools.

Baltimore, Maryland AIDA DIPACE DONALD

THE MECHANICAL ENGINEER IN AMERICA, 1830–1910: PROFESSIONAL CULTURES IN CONFLICT. By *Monte A. Calvert.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 296. $8.50.)

MONTE A. Calvert thinks of himself as engaging in "historical social analysis," an orphan discipline disowned by orthodox historian and sociologist alike. A reviewer who more than secretly thinks of himself as a humanist must, therefore, guard against expecting *The Mechanical Engineer in America, 1830–1910,* to be a chronologically coherent account of mechanical engineering theory and practice or to contain biographical portraits even of such major figures in the history of

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technology as Alexander L. Holley, Benjamin F. Isherwood, and Frederick W. Taylor. The subtitle, *Professional Cultures in Conflict,* gives a better clue to what the author is trying to do than the title. The focuses of the study are social mobility and professionalization among those who during the period had something to do with the design and construction of basic machinery.

The tension Calvert sees in the development of mechanical engineering stems from conflict between "shop culture" and "school culture." One of the study's major accomplishments is the delineation of the machine shop as a social institution. Through this analysis Calvert poses and resolves such paradoxes as the fact that an apprentice system of education closely tied to the practice of building steam engines should produce mechanical engineers of predominantly upper-class origin who had an appreciation of science based on genteel general culture. The "school culture" of Cornell's Sibley College, on the other hand, provided entry into professional life for those without social and financial connections by the study of abstract principles in a formal way. The perception that divides the subject into two cultures is enlightening. The conflict that develops between them is a tame one, however, marked by persistent efforts on all sides to minimize or end it. Calvert leads us repetitively through the professional associations, the changing occupational roles, an analysis of status, and the search for a rational shop environment. When he has sufficiently worked his sources for internal development, he goes over the whole ground for a second time under the heading of external relationships. When the reader meets the fourteenth mention of Oberlin Smith without being told much about the bearer of that interesting name, he may be pardoned for not noticing that Calvert eventually slips into his later discussions some new remarks on the place of the mechanical engineer in the navy.

This study is perhaps a harbinger of a literature that will make social analysis of the professions itself a separate profession and provide us with a shelf of books on "The Professional in America, 1492 to the Present." When that task is complete, the sources Calvert so industriously gathered and pondered for his special purposes will still await the historian who is willing to write the history of American technology and the biographies of its leading figures.

University of California, Berkeley A. Hunter Dupree

THE STATE AND THE MENTALLY ILL: A HISTORY OF WORCESTER STATE HOSPITAL IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1830–1920. By *Gerald N. Grob.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 399. $7.50.)

The broad implication of the first part of Mr. Grob's title is justified in that his study is much more than the history of a state mental hospital from the colonial era of purely local concern to the twentieth century with its full acceptance of the concept of state responsibility. The development of Worcester reflects, actually, "the character of mental hospitals in particular and American psychiatry in general." At several periods, moreover, the hospital was "a pioneer in developing new ways." While, therefore, it is understandable that this thorough study of a state institution should receive the American Association for State and Local

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History Manuscript Award for 1965, its conclusions carry significance beyond the range of state and local history.

The author finds that "nonmedical and nonscientific factors have played important parts in determining the direction that psychiatric thought (and mental hospitals) has taken," as did Norman Dain in his *Concepts of Insanity in the United States, 1789–1865* (1964). Indeed, Grob, working within a narrower framework, repeatedly presents findings that corroborate Dain's generalizations. His careful explanation of how Massachusetts public mental hospitals tended to become custodial while the small private institutions could continue therapeutic treatment seems almost a direct reply to the criticism that appeared in the *Psychiatric Quarterly* (XXXIX [July 1965], 561–63) of Dain's handling of this phase of his subject.

Of particular interest is Grob's analysis of the factors that gradually replaced optimism with pessimism and therapeutic treatment with mere custodial care during the second half of the nineteenth century. He sees a possible explanation for the retrogression during this period in the findings of recent studies: that "specific techniques" are less important than the "attitudes of the therapist and the degree to which he is able to communicate to his patient a sense of confidence and hope." The two most outstanding leaders of Worcester brought the institution to national prominence during the two periods of general popular confidence in the efficacy of therapy. The first was Samuel B. Woodward, whose "sense of hope and enthusiasm was probably responsible" for his success with patients. The work of such leaders as Woodward, Horace Mann, and Dorothea Dix in the pre-Civil War era of reform movements was so well done that "by the 1840's few questioned the legitimacy of state intervention in making provision for the insane." The second great leader was Adolf Meyer, who took charge of the hospital in the period when the progressive movement was sweeping the country. Meyer hoped to reorganize Worcester on the pattern of the "few great clinical and research hospitals then in existence." On the assumption that psychiatry was still in its infancy, he "swept aside traditional beliefs." His emphasis on scientific research and high standards produced an "atmosphere of optimism and hope among the professional medical staff." After Meyer's departure, however, the institution "reverted to its familiar custodial role," a role it would maintain until the period beyond the scope of Grob's excellent study.

Montgomery Junior College MARY R. DEARING

A PHILADELPHIA PERSPECTIVE: THE DIARY OF SIDNEY GEORGE FISHER COVERING THE YEARS 1834–1871. Edited by *Nicholas B. Wainwright.* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1967. Pp. x, 626. $12.50.)

THIS handsomely printed diary offers a nostalgic look at Philadelphia and proper Philadelphians between the Age of Jackson and Reconstruction. Its excellent index, genealogies, fine illustrations, and end maps make it invaluable for anyone doing research on the Quaker City for the period indicated. The social historian will find many insights into the life and thought of the nineteenth century: the large number of fires, railroad accidents, severe illnesses, and early deaths re-

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corded, or the references to the first giraffe in the United States and the ride in a "hoisting machine" (early elevator).

Though the author of the diary came of fine old Philadelphia stock, today he would be listed as not gainfully employed. With assured social position and some reputation as an intellectual, he insisted that he sought neither publicity nor financial return. His diary was a partial answer to his fear that he would leave behind him no permanent impression. Besides his literary efforts, he made one other important contribution to American life: he was the father of the historian, Sydney George Fisher.

Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Cooper, Trollope, Fanny Kemble, Bancroft, and Longfellow were among the famous who crossed his path. His comments are stimulating, often barbed; many of his acquaintances he thought tasteless and uncultured. Business, the practice of law, politics, and the people of the lower classes bored him. In an age of increasing commercialism and industrialism, he had a self-defeating devotion to the values represented by agriculture and landed property. He might be called a Jeffersonian who thoroughly resented Jefferson's political influence.

Fisher's reactions to life during the Civil War are most enlightening. He gave his full loyalty to the Union cause, though it helped ruin him financially. Oddly enough, he had an almost instantaneous liking for Lincoln, a liking that deepened as the war went on and was confirmed by an 1864 meeting with the President. Often somewhat arrogant in his assessment of people and events, in this outstanding instance the diarist recognized the qualities of true leadership.

The editing has been careful and nonobtrusive; the narrative is smooth flowing and fascinating. One comes to appreciate this rebel against materialism, this aristocrat ill-adjusted to an era of rapid social change.

American University DOROTHY D. GONDOS

COTTON VERSUS CONSCIENCE: MASSACHUSETTS WHIG POLITICS AND SOUTHWESTERN EXPANSION, 1843–1848. By *Kinley J. Brauer.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 272. $7.50.)

THE WHIG PARTY IN MISSOURI. By *John Vollmer Mering.* [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XLI.] (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1967. Pp. 276. $5.00.)

MR. Brauer analyzes the struggle for power between the Massachusetts Cotton and Conscience Whigs in the 1840's, a struggle complicated by the effort of the Conscience Whigs to woo the support of abolitionists outside of the Whig party. The Conscience Whigs moved into the Free-Soil party with the election of 1848. The author has done a considerable amount of research and has made good use of primary sources. He writes clearly and organizes his material in creditable fashion. It cannot be said, however, that he has made a major contribution to our knowledge of the period. David Donald's *Sumner,* Martin Duberman's *Charles Francis Adams,* and Frank Gatell's *John Gorham Palfrey* have recently covered the same field. Brauer's chief addition is a detailed account of political maneuvers. He declares that "most" of the Massachusetts Whigs "were conservative, with a patrician contempt for democracy and the lower social and economic classes," and

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a little further on points out that they were extraordinarily successful at the polls. These statements indicate that a searching analysis of the origins and composition of the Whig party in Massachusetts would be useful. Perhaps Brauer will supply this need.

The Whig party in Missouri was born, lived, and died amid frustration and defeat. The Adams-Clay men of the 1820's and 1830's furnished its nucleus. Nativism plagued it, and the skillful handling of economic issues by the state's Democratic leadership helped to keep it moribund. During much of its existence it operated as a pressure group, rather than as a party, supporting those Democrats whose views were most akin to Clay's American system. In 1850, when the Democrats split over Benton and the expansion of slavery, the Whigs elected a United States senator and three congressmen. But internal wranglings and a lack of patronage were chronic ailments. In 1855 the party sank from sight, leaving scarcely a trace. The implication of the story, at least to me, is that nationalism and economic vision had been the principal forces sustaining the party during the preceding decade.

Mr. Mering's handling of this melancholy tale is thoughtful and intelligent. He gives a clear and objective portrayal of why, in specific cases, the Whigs acted as they did. Particularly valuable is his chapter on "Whig Characteristics." Here he shows that the party in Missouri had a somewhat larger proportion than had the Democrats of the wealthy, the professional men, and the educated, that it was chiefly moved by economic issues, but that there was little indication of a struggle between an aristocratic Whiggery and a proletarian Democracy. While he does not examine the political affiliations of racial and religious groups, his thorough research methods lead one to assume that such evidence is not available for the period. This is a valuable book.

University of Rochester GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

DEMOCRATIC POLITICS AND SECTIONALISM: THE WILMOT PROVISO CONTROVERSY. By *Chaplain W. Morrison*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 244. $6.00.)

THE introduction of the Wilmot Proviso was one of those events which, although little recognized at the time, soon assumed a symbolic importance, setting in motion a train of further events and thus exerting a significant impact on the course of history. Or so it has often been interpreted. Professor Morrison is in essential agreement with this view. The proviso, he maintains, became the "principal symbolic realm in which the sectional controversy developed." More a political maneuver than a genuine assault on slavery, the proviso rapidly took on meanings that were divorced from the practical exigencies of the situation. To northerners, it became a means for halting the expansion of southern political power; to southerners, it seemed to threaten the section's social order and to project the "ultimate extinction" of slavery itself. Many of those who supported the proviso also did so because they saw in it a means for maintaining white supremacy in the territories by preserving the West exclusively for white emigration. At this point, northern and southern arguments curiously merged, for white supremacy proved to be a strong emotional force in determining the re-

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actions to the proviso of both northerners and southerners. These assertions are developed by the author in a well-reasoned chapter on the "Meaning of the Wilmot Proviso for the General Public."

Aside from this discussion of the symbolic importance of the proviso to the developing sectional antagonism, the author has concentrated his effort on the political struggles that it generated on both national and state levels between August 1846, when it was first introduced, and the presidential election of 1848. Only scant attention is paid to the controversial origins of the proviso. Morrison finds shortcomings in the positions of both Charles B. Going, Wilmot's biographer, and Richard Stenberg, preferring as the most plausible explanation the view that the events of 1846 had alienated Wilmot from the Polk administration and impelled him to join other Van Buren Democrats in a revolt against the supposedly pro-southern orientation of the administration. Much attention is given to the cleavage in New York's Democratic party, as well as to the role of northern Democratic followers of Van Buren and southern Democratic supporters of Calhoun and Yancey. The failure of the latter to mount an independent political movement (party loyalties apparently proved stronger to southerners than sectional interests) is contrasted with the successful creation of a new Free-Soil party in the North, based on support for the proviso. The emergence of popular sovereignty as an alternative to the proviso and its failure in the 1848 election, which forecast, the author states, popular sovereignty's ultimate failure as a solution to the territorial issue, are accorded full treatment. The author's research has been exhaustive, and his treatment is thorough. If the study has a fault, it is in Morrison's penchant for heavy detail and documentation—with over 900 footnotes for 173 pages of text—often at the expense of easy readability.

University of Illinois ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN

THE ROLE OF THE STATE LEGISLATURES IN THE CONFEDERACY. By *May Spencer Ringold.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 141. $5.00.)

IF one were to make up a list of books that inspired other books, he would have to accord a high place to Professor Charles W. Ramsdell's little volume, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy,* a collection of lectures delivered in 1937 and published in 1944. It was a suggestive work, in which the author asked historians to seek the causes of the collapse of the Confederacy in its inner economic and political weaknesses. Since its publication, many younger scholars have followed Ramsdell's advice, have pursued leads advanced by him, and have recorded their thanks to him.

The latest historian to acknowledge a debt to Ramsdell is Professor Ringold. She set out to study the role of the state legislatures in the Confederacy. As justification for her study, she cites the fact that at least by implication the constitution of the new southern nation left the function of providing for the "general welfare" to the states. Therefore the state legislatures had a wide area of power in which to legislate.

The author is careful to emphasize the limitations of her study. She states that it deals with "practical rather than theoretical aspects of state rights in action. It is

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not concerned with abstract principles of government, nor does it seek to make a case for or against polity." She concedes that the states failed, in the end, to cope with the situation thrust upon them, but she contends that the failure was related not to constitutional principles but to the economic inferiority of the South.

Within this framework, Ringold describes the efforts of the states to cope with the following problems or subjects: local defense, relations with the central government, economic ills, social institutions, morale, and revenue. She does this in a hundred pages of text and in a compressed and severe style. This may seem to be too scanty a treatment of the theme, but a longer account would merely have piled up additional examples of legislation. The author cites enough examples to make her point.

The point is that, contrary to the impression given in many accounts of the Confederacy, there was much cooperation between the legislatures and the Confederate government. Dissension and provincial views existed, but along with them went positive action and broad views. The Confederacy would "have gotten off to a slow start" in 1861 had not the states given it their support, she writes. When states opposed conscription and impressment later, they did so because of abuses in the enforcement of the national laws rather than because they opposed the principle of the laws. In grappling with economic problems, the states showed "courage and initiative" in daring to regulate economic activities and in establishing state-owned plants.

The book does not relate much that is new, but it brings many scattered bits of information into a new and sensible focus. A work for the specialists, it will be welcomed by them as a minor but solid contribution to Confederate literature.

Louisiana State University T. Harry Williams

JOHN LETCHER OF VIRGINIA: THE STORY OF VIRGINIA'S CIVIL WAR GOVERNOR. By *F. N. Boney.* [Southern Historical Publications, Number 11.] (University: University of Alabama Press. 1966. Pp. 319. $6.95.)

One of the most encouraging trends in recent Civil War scholarship is the increased attention being given to both the Union and Confederate home fronts. Much remains to be done, but studies such as F. N. Boney's biography of John Letcher, governor of Virginia from 1859 through 1863, are gradually bringing political, social, and economic conditions behind the lines into much sharper focus.

Despite the obvious importance of Virginia to the Confederate war effort, we have not heretofore had a satisfactory account of the state government's role in the conflict. Freeman's *Lee* described the early efforts to mobilize Virginia's men and military resources, but said little about the myriad other problems Letcher and his administration faced during the critical first two and one-half years of war. Now, thanks to Boney's solid, well-researched volume, we can see clearly how the governor and the state met, or failed to meet, their responsibilities.

On the whole, Boney feels, Letcher earns high marks for his wartime performance. In the months immediately after Fort Sumter, his "steady, balanced leadership" enabled Virginia to settle its differences with the Davis administration quickly and with minimum friction. As the war deepened, disputes with the

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central government grew in both volume and intensity, but the governor, an old states' rights Democrat, was generally willing to subordinate his strict constructionist principles to the good of the cause, as he indicated by surrendering his exclusive right to call out the state militia and by supporting, albeit reluctantly, conscription and the slave draft. Letcher also had his faults as a war leader, Boney points out, and some of his deficiencies sound much like those of another high political official in Richmond: a total lack of charisma and a tendency to act on occasion "more like a chief clerk than a chief executive." In addition, Letcher badly mishandled Virginia's salt program and displayed a growing willingness late in his term to yield to popular opposition to energetic war measures, such as impressment. Boney seems more than justified, nevertheless, when he concludes that Letcher's administration was "basically a success" and that "he was, on balance, a strong rebel war governor." When compared with his counterparts in other southern states, Letcher does indeed seem to have been, as Boney puts it, "a model of cooperativeness, a pillar of strength for the Confederacy."

Louisiana State University CHARLES B. DEW

BOSTON CAPITALISTS AND WESTERN RAILROADS: A STUDY IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY RAILROAD INVESTMENT PROCESS. By *Arthur M. Johnson* and *Barry E. Supple.* [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 23.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 392. $10.00.)

THE time has come when the number of company histories, biographies of entrepreneurs, and other specialized monographs is large enough to serve as a basis for more general synthetic accounts. While Professor Johnson and Dean Supple have "seen for themselves" by going back to the manuscript sources, their main conclusions could be derived from published materials.

This new business history will inevitably be compared with the new economic history. The latter seeks to be theoretical and aggregative; the former is more empirical and qualitative. Yet both try to work within defined analytical frameworks. Johnson and Supple study the "entrepreneurial mechanisms associated with economic expansion" and try "to describe in general terms the most obvious characteristics of a specific capital commitment at a given time." An example of the difference is the conclusion by new economic historians that western railroads in the aggregate were not built ahead of demand and the business or entrepreneurial historian's qualification that, while the conclusion is true in general, there were typical, definable exceptions.

The book presents an interesting account of how surplus Boston capital, accumulated from foreign trade and textiles, found investment, first in eastern and then in western railroads. Since the Bostonians were experienced railroad men as well as cautious capitalists, they wanted a considerable amount of favorable information regarding a western road before investing heavily. This produced a "bunching" of investment in a few roads such as the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the Union Pacific, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, where effective control was in Boston hands.

The authors emphasize a distinction between what they term "opportunistic

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investment," or money advanced in hopes of quick profit, and "developmental investment," or funds committed to the opening and growth of a new area. The categories appear to be useful, and they were recognized by contemporaries like John Murray Forbes. But applied to individuals, as distinct from types of investment, the line between them becomes blurred. Most large investors must have owned securities of both types, and selection between them was likely to be governed by a number of considerations other than the general inclination of the investor.

As one of the early syntheses of business or entrepreneurial history, this book establishes a high standard of scholarship and interpretation that will no doubt influence many future volumes.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE PURITAN ETHIC AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE. By *Alan P. Grimes.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 159. $4.75.)

YEARS afterward Jane Addams explained why women were so bold as to identify themselves with the Progressive party at a time when politics was not widely accepted as proper female activity. "We said that when a great party pledges itself to the protection of children, to the care of the aged, to the relief of overworked girls, . . . it is inevitable that it should appeal to women and should seek to draw upon the great reservoir of their moral energy so long undesired and unutilized in practical politics. . . ."

Women, Miss Addams was saying, were drawn to politics by a desire to reform society. Professor Grimes is concerned with the other side of the coin: why were men willing to give women the vote? If Miss Addams did a bit more than justice to her sex, Grimes perhaps does a bit less than justice to his.

Beginning with two questions, "Why was woman suffrage first successful in the west?" and "What kind of America did the supporters of woman suffrage expect to develop?" he turns first to Utah and Wyoming. The Mormons appear to have given the vote to women as a means of expanding the conservative electorate in the face of the threat of disorder created by an influx of anticommunitarian gentiles.

In Wyoming, that stronghold of drinking, gambling, and horse thievery, the granting of suffrage was close to a political accident. But once they had the vote, Wyoming women were not only the defenders of community values, but the veritable creators of them. By the time Wyoming was admitted to the Union woman suffrage was too well established to be dislodged, though Congress tried.

From these two early cases Grimes moves into a more general thesis. Men supported woman suffrage, he argues, as a means of supporting certain social values subsumed under a "Puritan ethic" of "temperance, honesty, and a sense of calling, or divine mission, in community building." While arguing quite rightly that "the social ethic of woman suffrage corresponded to the broader ethic of progressivism," he weakens his case by following the early Hofstadter view, which even Hofstadter has since modified, that the progressive movement was primarily an effort of native-born white Protestant Americans to sustain their position in the face of threats created by the urban-industrial-immigrant society. By equating the

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suffrage movement with so narrow a definition of progressivism, Grimes misses some of its interesting complexity. It is useful to see the kinds of questions a political scientist raises with respect to a historical problem such as the suffrage movement. Grimes's analysis of congressional votes on what he calls "correlative issues" is interesting, but, again, it tends to be too simple.

These caveats aside, this is an interesting, indeed a stimulating book, suggesting many subjects for further analysis. Because so much writing on this subject is simple-minded, it is a pleasure to encounter Grimes's willingness to be analytical.

Duke University ANNE FIROR SCOTT

CHIEF JUSTICE: THE JUDICIAL WORLD OF CHARLES DOE. By *John Phillip Reid*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 489. $12.50.)

THIS is the first book-length biography of Charles Doe who served for thirty-five years on the highest judicial tribunal of his native New Hampshire and who some forty years after his death was listed by Roscoe Pound as one of the ten greatest judges in the nation's history.

A graduate of Dartmouth College in the class of 1849, Doe read law in the Dover office of Daniel M. Christie, studied one term at Harvard's Dane Law School, and, in 1854, at the age of twenty-four, became solicitor of Strafford County, a position he held for two years. During the 1850's he was active in state politics, first as a Democrat and then as a Republican. He campaigned effectively for the Republican slate in the spring of 1859 and six months later was rewarded by appointment as associate justice of the state's Supreme Judicial Court. When in 1874 the Democrats gained control of the state legislature they abolished this court, and Doe retired to private life, but two years later the Republicans returned to power, established the New Hampshire Supreme Court, and appointed Doe chief justice, a position he held until his death in 1896.

This is first-class biography—well researched, thoroughly objective, and written to be read. The author does not permit Doe to get lost in the necessarily extensive consideration of legal and judicial problems; the personality of this somewhat eccentric justice and his relations with family and friends are clearly presented. Professor Reid also has set the story of Doe's life in the framework of New Hampshire's political, economic, and intellectual development so that the book is a contribution to the history of that state as well as to the history of American jurisprudence.

Reid praises Doe as "America's greatest adjudicatory reformer," who believed that "outmoded technicalities which stifled justice should be reformed," and who made "reason and justice the cornerstones of his jurisprudence," although he "carried to extremes the argument that unreasonable and unjust precedents have no binding authority. . . ." In many "revolutionary" decisions he reformed "the law of civil procedure, evidence, and criminal insanity." Doe's opinions were long and at times obscure, but they were based on exhaustive research and were usually definitive treatises on the legal principles involved.

University of California, Los Angeles BRAINERD DYER

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INDUSTRIALIZATION, IMMIGRANTS, AND AMERICANIZERS: THE VIEW FROM MILWAUKEE, 1866–1921. By *Gerd Korman.* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1967. Pp. x, 225. $4.50.)

DESPITE its somewhat ambiguous title, this substantial monograph provides much informative detail on the development of factory welfare, safety, and educational programs that eased the adjustment of immigrants to American industry between the mid-1860's and the turn of the 1920's and that anticipated later industrial relations techniques. Throughout the period, control resided primarily with the employer, but as the effects of industrialization widened the gap between management and worker, employers "responded to their consciences, to unions, and to the pressure exerted by moralists in and out of government" and took steps, sometimes ineffectual, to better the lot of their employees.

Many foreign-born workers, being unskilled or floaters, received little benefit from these welfare programs until such compulsory protective legislation as existed in Wisconsin by 1911 forced employers to teach all workers the fundamentals of safety and sanitation. Accepting safety programs as conducive to increased efficiency and improved rapport between capital and labor, employers came to look with greater favor on welfare programs generally. Though Americanization of the foreign-born worker was not among the original aims of welfare and safety legislation, provisions for his education were seen to bear upon the effectiveness of safety programs. Some firms built their safety programs on a multilingual base, but with the outbreak of World War I militant nationalists sought to use factory educational programs to force instruction in English, inculcate Americanism, and achieve uniform behavior on the part of the foreign-born worker.

Since the author draws particularly upon developments in Milwaukee to illustrate these themes, his book illuminates the city's history in many areas: worker recruitment, attitudes and practices of individual employers, and the influence of state agencies and organizations such as the Wisconsin Industrial Commission and the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion on local developments. Korman's writing reveals a good understanding of Milwaukee's history, but his tendency to be overinclusive prevents him from focusing, as fully as he might, on the extent to which factors peculiar to the Milwaukee environment were responsible for the developments he discusses. Nor is the influence of local and outside forces differentiated as sharply as would be desirable. Though much emphasis is placed on the welfare program of International Harvester in Milwaukee, for example, the fact that the program stemmed more from developments in Chicago than in the Wisconsin city seems to have a significance worth stressing, such as its reflection of the imitative character of cities and of the increasing influence of Chicago on Milwaukee by the turn of the twentieth century.

New York University BAYRD STILL

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATION. By *Rembert W. Patrick.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 324. $7.50.)

THIS is a survey of American history during the Reconstruction period. It is based

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almost entirely upon secondary materials, and assessment must therefore depend upon the author's judgment and upon his skill in presenting an over-all analysis of the period. It is refreshing to find a southern historian who leaves us in no doubt that failure to give the Negro a fair deal has constituted a major weakness in American civilization, and that most of the blame must rest with the southern white majority. Without going all the way with recent writers in explaining radicalism, he knows that there was more in it than vindictiveness, partisan calculation, or a few extremists who managed to get control of Congress. In dealing with the South he is restrained and creates no heroes and no villains; he allows for southern difficulties and for the way in which southern minds were conditioned, but still presents the case for believing that wrong decisions were taken when it would not have been impossible to take right ones. All this takes us a step nearer to an understanding of the tragic element in Reconstruction. His general analysis is, unfortunately, much less satisfactory. He adopts the familiar but stale technique of segregating economic and social information into a single isolated chapter, which means that the political account is often thin. The story of Reconstruction in the South is told without reference to economic problems and rivalries, to the restoration of railways and the revival of cotton, or to the consequential problems of finance. Southern business interests emerge to influence the settlement of 1877, but there is no account of their fortunes during the preceding decade. Sharecropping, crop lien, and the abortive Southern Homestead Act are mentioned, but long after the political events of redemption have been disposed of. When he moves from southern to northern politics, the deficiencies are even more apparent: the chapter on Grant's presidency has nothing to say that has not been said before, and much that modern students of the period would wish to question. On the other hand, when Patrick returns to the southern problem in 1877, his treatment of the disputed election is full and good.

To summarize, this book presents a careful review of the political history of Reconstruction in the light of recent writing, but it does not fulfill the promise of its title—to provide a new analysis of Reconstruction in the nation as a whole.

Selwyn College, Cambridge W. R. Brock

COTTON KINGDOM OF THE NEW SOUTH: A HISTORY OF THE YAZOO MISSISSIPPI DELTA FROM RECONSTRUCTION TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Robert L. Brandfon*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 227. $6.95.)

This is a highly perceptive study of one of the richest agricultural areas of the South, which, oddly enough, has the dubious distinction of being in the poorest state in the Union—Mississippi. Drawing heavily on the archives of the Illinois Central Railroad, the files of the federal court to a lesser extent, and letters of delta planters on deposit in the Agricultural Division of the National Archives, Brandfon has put together an authoritative account of the cotton economy of the Yazoo Mississippi Delta. He tells of the aims and achievements of those in command, the conflict between the Old South and the New, and the social tensions that ensued. He writes about "the alluvial empire," the rich lands of the delta, speculation in land, the "marriage of interests" between the Illinois Central and

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the Yazoo Delta that left its impact on the social economy of Mississippi, and the efforts of the Illinois Central to develop the region and win the good will of the people. The three concluding chapters deal with the delta cotton economy at the turn of the twentieth century and the reasons why it prospered; the efforts of the planters to attract Italian immigrants as a means of solving their labor needs and perhaps the racial question, and why these efforts failed; and, finally, an evaluation of how much the Illinois Central catered to northern investment interests as against southern needs.

Brandfon's study is well thought out, well structured, and well presented. He is the master of his subject, and he is always in command of it. He has searched beneath the surface, studied the various agencies at work, treated his subject objectively, and displayed a facility for weaving local issues into the broader stream of American history. His theme of the penetration of northern capital into the South and the resulting colonial status of the region is an old one, but there is something rewarding in the way he goes about building up his case. The compactness and the brevity of the book also add to its usefulness. In short, those interested in the history of railroads, agriculture, land speculation, immigration, economic development, and the South should find this a welcome addition.

University of California, Los Angeles THEODORE SALOUTOS

THE CENTENNIAL YEARS: A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AMERICA FROM THE LATE 1870s TO THE EARLY 1890s. By *Fred A. Shannon*. Edited by *Robert Huhn Jones*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1967. Pp. xx, 362. $6.95.)

THOSE of us whose training in economic history began with *America's Economic Growth* and then extended to *The Farmer's Last Frontier* greet this book as an appropriate memorial to an uncompromising scholar. Because Professor Robert Jones loyally prepared an incomplete manuscript for publication, the late Fred Shannon has had a final public opportunity to censure the stupidities, cruelties, and evasions accompanying the Industrial Revolution. As a book *The Centennial Years* is not a triumph. It is a largely unintegrated set of summaries and episodes retold to no very exciting purpose. But as an expression of the Shannon spirit it is unquestionably a success. Except in the last few pages, Jones has carefully preserved that singular style: the stabbing criticism, the earthy metaphors, the use of statistics as frontal assault in argument.

If Shannon uncovered weaknesses in all mortals, he saved hs sharpest strictures for the men of power, those who held other people's lives in their hands and invariably chose to squeeze. The barbarities of the robber barons once more dot his pages, reminding us that, if no one man was responsible for the ethics of the age, collectively the rulers of America in the late nineteenth century left a shabby record. Unabashedly agrarian, Shannon nevertheless discovered equally contemptible standards among southern landowners and western agricultural entrepreneurs. He was no theorist. Instead, a peculiar mixture of human sympathy and skepticism about mankind informs these pages as it did his earlier writings. Yet surely in his later years he who worked so long in the midst of the

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school of sophisticated detachment, understanding all and therefore accepting all, must have welcomed a new wave of self-conscious radicals who once again made moral judgment an intimate part of their craft.

Northwestern University ROBERT WIEBE

POLITICS, STRATEGY, AND AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: STUDIES IN FOREIGN POLICY, 1873–1917. By *John A. S. Grenville* and *George Berkeley Young*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 352. $7.50.)

THE eleven studies in this provocative book stress the impact of party politics upon foreign policy and the failure to base that policy upon sound strategy. Exploiting materials hitherto used inadequately, if at all—the papers of Henry Cabot Lodge and William L. Scruggs, the records of the Navy's General Board, and the archives of Germany and England—the authors effectively question many accepted interpretations of the period. Revisionist in tone, they discuss "The Admiral in Politics: Stephen B. Luce and the Foundation of the Modern American Navy"; "Party Politics and Foreign Policy: Grover Cleveland's First Administration, 1885–1889"; "The Challenge of Latin America: Harrison and Blaine, 1889–1892"; "An Administration in Search of a Policy: Hawaii and Latin America, 1893–1895"; "The Diplomat as Propagandist: William Lindsay Scruggs, Agent for Venezuela"; "Grover Cleveland, Richard Olney, and the Venezuelan Crisis"; "The Dangers of Cuban Independence, 1895–1897"; "The Expansionists: The Education of Henry Cabot Lodge"; "The Breakdown of Neutrality: McKinley Goes to War with Spain"; "The Influence of Strategy upon History: The Acquisition of the Philippines"; "The Quest for Security: Admiral Dewey and the General Board, 1900–1917."

With most of the conclusions I agree. The role of Alfred T. Mahan has been exaggerated, both in building up the navy in the 1880's and in acquiring the Philippines in 1898. President Cleveland was not always courageous, and he often subordinated external goals to partisan ends. Secretary Olney had little sympathy for the Venezuelans or Cubans; he wished to assert American power in the hemisphere. Historians have misunderstood Lodge, who was not greatly concerned with foreign affairs until 1894 and who was not an extremist in 1898. McKinley did differ from Cleveland over Cuba; he ruled out any settlement the insurgents would not accept. McKinley did not bow weakly to congressional and popular pressure for war; while patient in his quest for a diplomatic solution, he firmly insisted upon something Spain would not concede: Cuban independence. The attack on the Philippines was neither the work of an impetuous Theodore Roosevelt nor the first step in a carefully planned program of overseas expansion; rather it followed a war plan drafted in 1896 and was regarded by its sponsors as leverage, once the Spanish squadron was destroyed, to compel Spain to end the war quickly on the basis of a free Cuba.

The volume has a few weaknesses. The authors do not say enough about McKinley's strategic decisions, May 1–8, 1898. They fail to show that Admiral George Dewey made any contribution as chairman of the General Board. They

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overemphasize the novelty of their conclusions, some of which can be found, in briefer and undocumented form to be sure, in several recent textbooks on American foreign policy.

Northwestern University RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

DANIEL E. MORGAN, 1877–1949: THE GOOD CITIZEN IN POLITICS. By *Thomas F. Campbell.* (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University. 1966. Pp. ix, 196. $5.50.)

THE progressive movement of the early twentieth century achieved nationwide recognition and attention when Theodore Roosevelt became President. It was well established in the cities and states before 1901, however, and many consider that the movement's greatest achievements were in these areas rather than at the national level. One man whose career supports that argument is Daniel Edgar Morgan.

Morgan was born in rural Ohio, received degrees from Oberlin and Harvard, and went to Cleveland in 1901 to practice law. He found the city's politics dominated by reform Mayor Tom L. Johnson. One of the partners in the law firm Morgan first joined was Frederic C. Howe, later well known for his work in municipal reform. From his initial appearance Morgan was active in the life of his adopted city, particularly on its progressive side, as councilman, member of a commission to rewrite the city's charter, city manager, county political leader, and judge. Unlike many of his fellow progressives Morgan did not become conservative in his later years. He had little use for the Harding Republicans. He agreed with the New Deal's concern for the individual though he found many measures unpalatable.

Professor Campbell has done an excellent job of placing Morgan in his milieu, of explaining his career in terms of current individuals and events as well as his subject's own ideas and background. At times, however, one almost loses sight of Morgan in the swirl of events. This well-written, thoroughly researched account, nevertheless, contributes to our knowledge of the progressive movement at the local level. Campbell reveals an impressive knowledge of people, publications, and movements in early twentieth-century Cleveland, and his footnotes and bibliography provide many leads for those working in this area. He has clearly gained much information from interviews with key figures like Harold H. Burton and Saul S. Danaceau; one wonders why these interviews are mentioned in the footnotes but not in the bibliography.

Perhaps unintentionally the work reinforces the argument that American political parties are loose unions created for reasons of convenience rather than to implement basic principles in which all believe. Morgan and Newton D. Baker repeatedly worked for the same cause, and both are remembered for their contributions to progressivism rather than to party. Yet Baker remained loyal to the Democratic party and Morgan to the Republican even when such loyalty endangered causes they were supporting. This is one of several topics suggested by this solid, worthwhile study.

University of Akron PAUL L. SILVER

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BAPTISTS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. By *Leland D. Hine.* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press. 1966. Pp. 192. $3.00.)

THIS study deals with congregations affiliated with the American Baptist Convention and the Southern California Baptist Convention; it does not embrace a considerable additional aggregate of Baptists in southern California who adhere to the Southern Baptist Convention, the General Association of Regular Baptists, the Conservative Baptist Association, the Swedish Baptist Conference, and the Western (Negro) Baptist Association. Though assuming personal responsibility for the volume's content, the author acknowledges that his project was "made possible" by the Southern California Baptist Convention.

Mr. Hine relied heavily on the official records of the Southern California Baptist Convention and its various committees and adjuncts. He apparently made no use of personal manuscripts or secular newspapers, and only occasional citations are given to religious periodicals and to the minutes of congregational and associational meetings. Extensive quotations from resolutions and pronouncements often clutter up the text. And the author is quick to moralize, sometimes applying to earlier generations standards that have grown fashionable only in our present age.

Yet the work has merits that commend it to serious historians. It deals with matters the author obviously comprehends. Though its tone is sympathetic, its interpretations are not apologetic to the point of being uncritical. Social and economic features peculiar to the area are appropriately related to religious origins and development. The author is most successful, perhaps, in explaining the relationships among and between believers, congregations, associations, conventions, and miscellaneous auxiliary enterprises in a denominational system that lacks coercive ecclesiastical machinery external to the local church. Theological tenets, intellectual thrust, and social impact are not explored in great depth, but Hine has provided a significant study of Baptist polity.

University of Texas, El Paso KENNETH K. BAILEY

NAACP: A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. Volume I, 1909–1920. By *Charles Flint Kellogg.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 332. $8.75.)

THIS study of the early years of the NAACP, the first of two volumes, supersedes for its period all of the earlier studies of the organization, as well as the egocentric memoirs of several founders. Though unimaginative and unexciting in style, it is solidly researched, revealing, and judicious, and it deserves a place among the handful of well-researched studies of the twentieth-century Negro.

In a too brief introduction Professor Kellogg finds the origins of this "new abolition movement" not so much in the moderate progressivism of its day as in a fusion of the Negro and white abolitionist tradition with socialist egalitarianism. By the end of its first decade it had grown to almost a hundred thousand members in the South as well as the North, developed a powerful propaganda instrument in *The Crisis,* begun to end white leadership and control, and found

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through some early successes the objectives and legalistic and propaganda methods that suited its middle-class, middle-aged membership.

Finding the NAACP archives inadequate for the early years, Kellogg built his account largely from personal manuscripts of the NAACP leaders. He is particularly revealing in his treatment of the dissidence of the dissenters, the foibles, ideological tensions, and real and imagined racial slights. Mary White Ovington emerges as a heroine whose devotion and even temperament were needed to keep peace among the high-strung militant reformers.

Faults of the book stem from the nature of institutional history and from isolation from other historians of the Negro. In a very interesting account of Booker T. Washington's relationship to the NAACP, Kellogg treats fully Washington's unscrupulous tactics in the Cosmopolitan Club affair, but he relegates to a footnote, with no ethical judgment, Du Bois' use of the NAACP apparatus for a circular letter attacking Washington. Historians will welcome Kellogg's illumination of some dark corners of Negro history through his primary sources. He assembles all of the scattered fragments of the Pink Franklin case, for example, and explains the waxing and waning of the NAACP branches in major cities. His account of the liaison between NAACP officers and the Wilson administration and the impact of World War I events on the rapid growth of the NAACP is helpful. If he had consulted other Negro historical literature, particularly in the journals, his treatment of some controversial topics would have been more authoritative and balanced. A few examples are Thomas R. Cripps's more broadly researched article on the fight against *The Birth of a Nation,* several pertinent articles on federal segregation, assessments of Du Bois' editorship of *The Crisis,* and Arthur Waskow's study of the 1919 riots. One organizational dilemma is inadequately solved by placing the mob violence of 1919 in a chapter preceding the one on World War I.

Though far from flawless in conception and execution, this will be one of the bigger monuments in the current reconstruction of Negro history.

University of Maryland LOUIS R. HARLAN

FROM ISOLATIONISM TO INVOLVEMENT: THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANT PRESS IN AMERICA, 1914–1945. By *Finis Herbert Capps.* (Chicago: Swedish Pioneer Historical Society. 1966. Pp. xv, 238. $6.00.)

IN this splendidly detailed study of American-Swedish opinion about United States foreign policy in the twentieth century, Professor Capps shuns statistical approaches to either content or career analysis and offers instead thumbnail sketches of what numerous editors actually said on important aspects of the major issues.

The title of the volume refers to only a portion of its contents. Three chapters record the debates over war and peacemaking during the administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, in which internationalism at last prevailed. Three others on the interwar period, however, and the two opening chapters that summarize the history of the Swedish community and its press from the Civil War to 1914, suggest over-all a movement in the opposite direction, from involvement to isolationism.

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Capps devotes much space to explaining the growing conservatism of the editors, evident in their attitudes toward domestic as well as foreign policies. Their rural and Lutheran background made American Swedes cautious, and their nation's experience in Europe left them suspicious of commercial England, resentful of tsarist Russia, favorably disposed toward Protestant Germany, and prejudiced against all Roman Catholics, whether from older or newer lands of emigration. Allegiance to the Republican party, a folk tradition dating from Lincoln's time, was the most persistent force stemming from their New World experiences.

Special circumstances heightened this conservatism in the three decades after 1920. Legislation restricting immigration reduced the influx of youthful and optimistic newcomers, and American-born Swedes lost interest in ethnic affairs. By the mid-1930's the editors, like the leaders of church and ethnic associations, were mostly old men. Preserving a consensus became cruical. Besides loyalty to their Swedish heritage, the only completely safe commitment was to Americanism.

Seen in this light, Capps's clearly written volume suggests the need for new studies of other ethnic groups, as well as of other kinds of groups, who shared the Republican party's conservative drift. By his focus upon one nationality, all of whom happened to be Protestants, and upon only one aspect of the group's political attitudes, the author makes some things plain, but leaves others obscure. German and Slavic Catholics, for example, seem to have experienced a similar conservative evolution, though the former leaned toward the Republican and the latter toward the Democratic party. The careers of individual ethnic leaders confirmed, moreover, the rags-to-riches myth dominant in American conservatism; for they began life in what by their later standards were impoverished peasant villages.

The study of the social sources of political attitudes in American ethnic and interest groups has barely begun. This book makes plain how varied and complex that study will become.

University of Minnesota TIMOTHY L. SMITH

GENERAL TASKER HOWARD BLISS AND THE "SESSIONS OF THE WORLD," 1919. By *David F. Trask*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVI, Part 8.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1966. Pp. 80. $2.00.)

PROFESSOR Trask concludes his detailed examination of General Tasker H. Bliss's participation in the "Sessions of the World" by suggesting that his findings indicate a need for re-examination of traditional attitudes about the work of the American delegation to the Versailles conference. Relying principally upon the Bliss Papers in the Library of Congress and the published official documents of the Paris Peace Conference, he finds that the general made a "number of important personal contributions to peacemaking in 1919."

By far the greater impression one feels after reading the many lengthy quotations from Bliss's letters to his wife and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, however, is a reconfirmation of well-known pristine American attitudes permeating the peace negotiations after the Great War. As Trask implies, the men who

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finally accepted the compromises with reality necessary to bring about the League of Nations had already gone through personal agonies suffered at Paris by Bliss later. One grand hope after another fell to the ground, and the members of the American commission, largely cut off from Wilson and House, believed that the Peace Conference had failed. Though he did not resign his post, Bliss sympathized with the views of William C. Bullitt. Both believed that the decadent voices of old Europe had triumphed wrongly over the progressive forces they represented. Both agonized over the Russian problem and the birth of a number of small but alien and ferociously nationalistic states out of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. By March 4, 1919, Bliss had arrived at this dismal conclusion which he confided to Secretary Baker: "I suspect that before we are through with it we will have disintegrated Germany, [and] this little strip of Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilization along the western shores of Europe . . . [will be] horrified at finding that there is no power between it and the vast hordes of people who are little better civilized than they were in the days of Alaric and Attila. Without dabbling much longer in this mess over here, we ought to make sure of our ability to keep alive the spark of our civilization should it die out over here."

The above is typical of many of the quotations presented by Trask. It sums up much of the study of Bliss's pre- and postconference views as well. The general opposed intervention in Russia and the militancy of French pretensions there and throughout continental Europe. He had hoped for a genuinely disarmed Europe that none would dominate, but, like so many other Americans, he seemed unaware of continental suspicions of the special Anglo-American relationship at Versailles and after. I will not say this is a badly needed study that fills an important, long-neglected gap in our knowledge of the Paris Peace Conference; it is useful for the specialist in American diplomatic history and for others interested in filling out the details of the period.

Rutgers University LLOYD C. GARDNER

CALVIN COOLIDGE: THE QUIET PRESIDENT. By *Donald R. McCoy*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 472. $8.95.)

THIS biography of Calvin Coolidge provides few startling new facts or drastic reinterpretations, but it is a useful and interesting volume, one that broadens and deepens our understanding of the subject. Professor McCoy does not describe the sour, narrow-minded, incompetent Coolidge of legend, but on the other hand he does not suggest that Coolidge was a great statesman or even that he has been seriously underestimated by historians. He admits that Coolidge's contributions as a public official were never very significant, partly because of his conception of his role, which was that he was a representative, rather than a leader. He believed, McCoy writes, in "letting public opinion take the lead and . . . hoping for the best results." Coolidge also lacked both imagination and any deep insight into the problems of his times, and he was further handicapped, McCoy makes clear, by a grave shortage of physical energy. He required ten or eleven hours of sleep a day, surely one reason why he was so committed to the laissez-faire philosophy.

The author does insist, however, that Coolidge was a fair-minded, sincere,

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assiduous, and idealistic President. He gives him high marks as an administrator, stressing his constant concern for efficiency in government and for the merit system. The sections dealing with Coolidge's techniques as an executive are perhaps the most valuable in the book.

McCoy tends too often to quote the opinions of both contemporaries and other historians without evaluating them. One gets the impression at times that he has included references to Coolidge in memoirs and monographs merely because they exist. His discussion of his subject's peculiar personality, while detailed and circumstantial, is not particularly penetrating. But his own historical judgments are almost uniformly intelligent and convincing. That this biography is not entirely satisfying is probably due more to Coolidge's limitations than to those of the author. It should find a wide audience, for it is accurate, well balanced, up to date, lively, and written with the style and verve that its subject so conspicuously lacked.

Columbia University JOHN A. GARRATY

FDR: ARCHITECT OF AN ERA. By *Rexford G. Tugwell.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xvii, 270. $4.95.)

TUGWELL's voluminous writings about FDR and the New Deal, particularly *The Democratic Roosevelt* (1957) and his ten articles in the *Western Political Quarterly,* I–VI (June 1948–June 1953), are required reading for students of the Roosevelt administrations. In this literature Tugwell's over-all evaluations proceed from two viewpoints. As a collectivistic institutional economist (he taught economics at Columbia from 1920 to 1933), he judges the New Deal an old-fashioned progressive stopgap of the New Freedom variety that barely saved the economy in its traditional uncoordinated form. As a political scientist (he was a professor of political science at the University of Chicago from 1946 to 1957), he stresses the limitations on presidential accomplishment, concluding that Roosevelt achieved about as much toward his basic end of social justice as could be expected under the circumstances—and this was no small feat: FDR averted a revolution, saved democracy, made significant advances within the progressive tradition, and earned a ranking as one of our three or four greatest statesmen. The present volume, in its title and in its occasional judgments of a general kind, emphasizes the latter theme.

Although Tugwell cannot enjoy the perspective of the historian looking back a century or more, his appraisal of Roosevelt and the New Deal has been affected by developments in the thirty-five years that have passed since he joined the brain trust in 1932. Robert E. Lane has called the Great Depression an interruption of America's drive to prosperity; Arthur Mann writes: "the New Deal staged a holding action for capitalism until World War II restored prosperity and reopened avenues of opportunity." The drive to prosperity resumed, however haltingly, with the New Deal, and now we are in an age of affluence. Thus, in the perspective of a third of a century, the "holding action," with all of its shortcomings, becomes the first phase, and its sponsor the original architect, of an ascent to widespread well-being.

The detailed account and assessments in this book are the same in every

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essential respect as those in Tugwell's earlier publications. The reader who is not acquainted with Tugwell's institutional economics will find this brief volume uncertain going. In any case, the interested reader of this journal should turn or will return to the full narrative and analysis of Tugwell's previous works.

Seton Hall University BERNARD STERNSHER

AN ENCORE FOR REFORM: THE OLD PROGRESSIVES AND THE NEW DEAL. By *Otis L. Graham, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 256. Cloth $6.00, paper $1.95.)

THE 256 pages of *An Encore for Reform* contain 6 chapters, 326 footnotes, 3 appendixes, and 7 tables. Using this rather complicated apparatus, Otis Graham examines in a novel way the relationship between progressivism and the New Deal. Appendix I describes his method—how he selected a sample of 400 progressives and discovered that 168 of them survived past 1936. Their published writings and an amazing number of manuscript sources revealed to Graham that 5 of the surviving progressives were consistently more radical than the New Deal; that 40 supported the New Deal while 60 opposed it; that 10 could not be categorized because of ambiguous attitudes toward the New Deal; that 10 others retreated from political concern before 1936, and that 43 were unclassifiable by reason of insufficient data. Appendix II, "A Critical Evaluation of the Sample," anticipates and answers questions that readers are sure to raise about the author's method. The four hundred names of the sample progressives are listed in Appendix III.

Graham's study begins with a short chapter in which he speculates on the degree of continuity or discontinuity between progressivism and the New Deal. Each of the following chapters discusses one category of old progressives: the five consistently more radical than the New Deal, the forty who supported it, and so on. Such a large cast of characters, some with unfamiliar names, could cause confusion. On the whole, however, the author keeps his players in their proper places and their roles distinct. If nothing else, and there is more than this to the book, Graham's method demonstrates effectively the kaleidoscopic nature of progressivism as well as the variety of responses to the New Deal and to its chief proponent.

Usually footnotes are mentioned in a review only when they are inaccurate, missing, or at the back of the book. The footnotes in *An Encore for Reform* deserve special notice for none of these reasons, however. Many are capsule essays or biographical vignettes, interwoven with the text and appearing at the bottom, in the middle, or at the top of the printed page.

The footnotes, along with the bibliographical essay and the list of sources at the end of the book, demonstrate the scope of Graham's investigation. His research and the subtlety of his writing have produced a complex book with interwoven and interconnecting threads. One can poke holes in it, as in a spider's web; still, the whole thing holds together quite well. But, unlike a spider's web, the work cannot be brushed aside. It deserves attention from anyone writing or studying twentieth-century American history.

State University College, Buffalo RICHARD C. BROWN

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LABOR AND LIBERTY: THE LA FOLLETTE COMMITTEE AND THE NEW DEAL. By *Jerold S. Auerbach.* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1966. Pp. xi, 246. $6.50.)

THIS excellent book provides a vivid account of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, which from 1936 to 1940 investigated the pattern of civil liberties violations in the industrial warfare that raged during the Great Depression. Professor Auerbach has shrewdly perceived the larger significance of the La Follette Committee as being a meeting ground for a number of key developments in politics, labor, and libertarian thought during the New Deal era. The committee, first of all, offers an example of the expansion of the congressional committee from objective inquiry into a political instrument connected to private interest groups—in this instance, organized labor—and concerned as much with its direct impact on the country as with the creation of new legislation. The La Follette investigation actually did not place new laws on the books. It did, however, play an important part in the success of mass production unionism. It helped prod both General Motors and US Steel into accepting trade-unionism in the dramatic settlements of early 1937. In addition, the investigation brought to light, and thereby largely ended, the repressive methods used by open-shop employers to fight organized labor. The La Follette Committee thus powerfully supplemented the NLRB, especially in the early period before the Jones and Laughlin decision validated the Wagner Act. Finally, the La Follette investigation reflected a significant shift in libertarian thinking away from the assumption that civil liberties could be threatened only by the government. Now libertarians such as Roger Baldwin began to realize that private bodies might also violate the civil liberties of others, that the problem had to be seen in an economic as well as political context, and that government might serve as the protector of civil liberties when these came under attack in the private sector.

All this and more Auerbach tells us in this first-rate study. He writes with clarity and vigor; his research is thorough and wide-ranging. Best of all, his analysis is well conceived and ably executed. This book is a happy addition to the impressive recent scholarship on the New Deal era.

University of California, Davis DAVID BRODY

THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS: THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. By *Karl C. Dod.* [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, U. S. Army. 1966. Pp. xv, 759. $5.50.)

EACH time one picks up a volume of the series "U. S. Army in World War II," but especially when it is a volume treating some specialized aspect such as this on the Corps of Engineers in the war against Japan, he is struck with the futility of trying to see the war as a whole. This volume gives in detail a grand view of that part of the war that comes within its scope. It sketches well the strategic background and tactical narrative necessary to make its own story comprehensible in the larger context. Yet the interested general reader will long for an opportunity to line up all the volumes in the series that touch upon a given episode and then

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combine all the available pieces. Something of that kind might in fact be a worthwhile project for some special studies.

For the engineer's story in support of all the operations in the Pacific, and the China-Burma-India theater, and the Western Defense Command, including Alaska, Karl C. Dod has brought together in a meaningful and interesting way about all that would be needed for such studies or for the instruction of specialists as well as general readers.

This is a record of rivalries, of almost insurmountable obstacles of terrain, of climate, and of enemy action, but above all it is a record of achievement and triumph. Construction of air bases and supply installations, the supply of engineering equipment and materials, the preparation and distribution of maps, and reorganization—these major themes recur from one island to another and from one theater to another. The most serious problem throughout appeared to be supply in the face of long transportation routes, too few depots when most needed, and inadequate distribution systems during much of the time.

In the early chapters one meets again the painful story of changes in plans in the Philippines that led to the abandonment of stocks of supplies that might have permitted longer resistance on Bataan. There are the difficulties of the early days of development of bases and supply activities in Australia, building on permafrost and tundra in the extreme cold of Alaska, the construction of the Alcan Highway and the Canol pipeline project, the building or improvement of the Burma Road and the Ledo Road as well as the building of airfields for flying supplies over the Hump, the construction of the long runways in the Marianas and in China for the B-29 sorties, and often there were the conflicts in interest, training, and requirements for the engineers' combat functions as against their service functions.

As one has come to expect of books in this series, this one has excellent illustrations and maps. Particularly useful is an appendix that explains at least forty-two different kinds of engineer units that saw service in the Pacific and Southeast Asia theaters, from airborne aviation battalions and base equipment companies to treadway bridge companies and water supply battalions.

Purdue University JAMES A. HUSTON

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1943-62. By *David A. Baldwin*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 291. $7.95.)

THIS careful study has as its principal focus how and why the onetime repugnant concept of "soft" lending (long-term dollar loans at low or no interest) gradually acquired acceptance until by the beginning of the 1960's such lending had become, in the words of President Kennedy, "the instrument of primary emphasis" in the American aid program. In analyzing this phenomenon, Professor Baldwin divides the twenty years covered by his study into four periods and compares, from period to period, the shifting attitudes toward various techniques of foreign aid and their relative effectiveness. He draws heavily on the literatures of political science and economics in addition to contemporary sources. In doing so he tilts his lance at numerous scholars.

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The author makes clear that the American government has consistently maintained, albeit with somewhat diminished faith, that underdeveloped nations should look chiefly to private sources for supplemental capital to facilitate their development. Initially, American approval of the transfer of public capital was limited almost wholly to conventional loans negotiated by poor nations with the World and Export-Import Banks. It was hoped that tariff reductions granting these nations greater access to the American market would help them to meet their own capital needs and to service their loans, private and public. But when sufficient trade liberalization was not forthcoming, when the poorer nations put up a growing clamor in the UN for more public capital on easy terms and were increasingly supported by outside experts, when Russia under Khrushchev entered more strongly into foreign aid competition, and when Congress showed a continuing hostility to grants, the case for soft lending became progressively more attractive. The fact that the distinction between conventional and soft loans was obscure to many congressmen also offered the usually vulnerable foreign aid officials an opportunity for larger, though grossly inadequate, appropriations—a matter Baldwin analyzes with great skill.

At times, the reader suffers some rather tedious repetition; occasionally, he could wish for concrete illustrations to buttress the argument; above all, he would appreciate more detailed statistical data than are provided on the various kinds of aid. But, in general, this is an informative and provocative book.

San Francisco State College GERALD T. WHITE

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944. Volume II, GENERAL: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MATTERS. [Department of State Publication 8211.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. vi, 1129. $3.75.)

THE documents in this volume constitute a diplomatic potpourri, including speculative discussions about postwar economic and social policy in England and America, proposals for retrieving Axis gold and other loot secreted in neutral countries, protection and restoration of artistic and historical monuments in war areas, food relief for German-occupied Europe, civilian supplies for liberated areas, and control of the opium traffic. Although the collection is uneven in its interest and value to the diplomatic historian, taken as a whole it serves as a corrective to the possible misconception that American officials gave no thought during the war to the problems of postwar reconstruction. Nevertheless, aspirations often outdistanced achievements on crucial economic and social matters, largely because of conflicting motives or interests between ourselves and some of our Allies. Anglo-American disagreements over the degree of international control or regulation of postwar civil aviation were especially acute and occasioned a sharp exchange between Churchill and FDR. The British, apprehensive of America's advantages in air cargo and passenger facilities at the end of the war, advanced proposals that we viewed as imposing severe limitations on international rights in air transport. It is significant that the United States received support for its stand from a majority of the nations attending the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago.

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The views of the Soviet Union do not seem as significant in this volume as one might suppose. When the Soviet Union was drawn into discussions, however, its attitudes and actions tended to document "the strange alliance" thesis and foreshadowed postwar problems in East-West negotiations. Less than a week before the Chicago conference was to convene, for example, the Soviets precipitously withdrew their commitment to participate. Simultaneously, discussions in London concerning the establishment of a European inland transport organization to function in the liberated areas of Europe were reaching an impasse owing to Soviet proposals that would have jeopardized the effective operation of the organization. In Moscow, Harriman and Kennan interpreted Soviet behavior at this time as stemming from the political motive of retaining the greatest possible freedom of action in territories under their control. Kennan thus advised that the other countries should "make the most effective agreement they can among themselves," but to allow for the Soviets to join at a later date if they concluded "that it would be advantageous to them. . . ." Since the State Department did not want to give the Soviets the slightest cause to suspect the formation of a Western European bloc against them that might lead to an open break, it overruled an ultimatum. But negotiations applicable to Central and Western Europe did proceed along the lines suggested by Kennan without noteworthy objections from Moscow.

University of Wyoming THOMAS C. KENNEDY

ATOMIC DIPLOMACY: HIROSHIMA AND POTSDAM. THE USE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB AND THE AMERICAN CONFRONTATION WITH SOVIET POWER. By *Gar Alperovitz*. (Reprint; New York: Vintage Books. 1967. Pp. 317. $2.45.)

MR. Alperovitz disagrees with the generally accepted view that Harry Truman came into office in April 1945 fully committed to continue his predecessor's policy of friendliness and cooperation with the Soviet Union and took a hard and uncompromising line only in 1947 when Soviet intransigence and ambition could no longer be tolerated. Alperovitz believes that "shortly after taking office Truman launched a powerful foreign policy initiative aimed at reducing or eliminating Soviet influence from Europe" and bridling its power in Asia and, more importantly, that possession of the atomic bomb "determined much of Truman's shift to a tough policy aimed at forcing Soviet acquiescence to American plans. . . ." He suggests, also, albeit briefly and as a sort of afterthought at the end of the book, that the decision to use the bomb had nothing to do with forcing a Japanese surrender, but was designed, rather, to intimidate the Soviet Union by brandishing a new and terrible weapon.

The thesis is a plausible and interesting one and, if true, would go far toward developing a new interpretation of the origins of the cold war. The fact is, however, that the author does not prove his point. The evidence he adduces is almost entirely circumstantial, and he establishes no causal relationship between the bomb and American policy. He does, indeed, provide ample evidence that American policy makers welcomed the successful test of the bomb and considered it an important political weapon, and he does correctly state that at Potsdam Tru-

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man stood firm against many of Stalin's demands, but he fails to demonstrate that the first affected the second. He himself admits the tenuousness of the connection when he says: "The firm tactics and the decision to reverse Roosevelt's [Yalta] agreement [at Potsdam] *undoubtedly* [italics mine] were related to the 'entirely new sense of confidence' which Truman told Stimson the atomic test had given him. There is no way, of course, to know if Truman and Byrnes would have taken such an unyielding line had they not been 'greatly re-enforced' by the news [of the successful test in New Mexico]. But it is vital to recognize that the new approach was adopted only after the atomic test was received." Clearly, conjecture and time sequence form the basis here for Alperovitz' conclusions. There are other examples of weakness in marshaling evidence and drawing conclusions.

All this is not to say that the generally accepted view of the origins of the cold war cannot be challenged or that the last word on the subject has been written. It says only that Alperovitz has not succeeded in making a case for a revisionist interpretation.

University of California, San Diego ARMIN RAPPAPORT

HARRY S TRUMAN AND THE RUSSIANS, 1945–1953. By *Herbert Druks.* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons. 1966. Pp. viii, 291. $7.50.)

HERBERT Druks has written a highly favorable account of the diplomacy of the United States from 1945 to 1953 and credited President Truman for most of the good results. Indeed, the book hardly contains a single criticism of Truman. The gist of the narrative is that Truman realized that the Russians were up to difficulties everywhere, and that, with his usual forthrightness, the President stood up to the Russians, despite the obscurantism of the Republican opposition in and out of the Senate. The book's account of American policy is highly factual, and it is difficult to quarrel with most of it, except for emphasis. The section on the Marshall Plan, perhaps the greatest achievement of Truman's presidency, is extremely short. There is nothing on the independence of Israel, which the Truman administration encouraged. The proposed special mission of Chief Justice Vinson to Russia in 1948 receives little attention; the suggested trip probably indicated that Truman was weakening because of the pressure of the campaign, and that he desired some electoral mileage out of a special mission to Russia; this weakness passed, but even a pro-Truman historian should note it. The book lacks rumination and thoughtfulness; the narrative marches along in black and white. It has a curious lack of recent documentation, as the bibliography lists no secondary work published later than 1963. Many of the books mentioned in the bibliography do not show themselves in the notes at the end of the chapters or in the narrative.

And the publisher deserves special notice by readers of the *Review,* for it is obvious that Speller employs few or no editors (see page 185: "The dye was cast . . .") and, certainly, no proofreaders.

Indiana University ROBERT H. FERRELL

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GIDEON'S ARMY. Volume I, THE COMPONENTS OF THE DECISION; Volume II, THE DECISION AND THE ORGANIZATION; Volume III, THE CAMPAIGN AND THE VOTE. By *Curtis D. MacDougall.* Introduction by *H. H. Wilson.* (New York: Marzani and Munsell. 1965. Pp. xiii, 305; 306–586; 587–884. $6.50 each.)

THIS tendentious, badly edited, and outrageously priced work chronicles, often in numbing detail, the rise and fall of the political movement led by Henry A. Wallace from 1946 to 1948. It documents the difficulties encountered by dissenters from American policies, as well as the problem of mobilizing political forces outside the major parties. But it fails to analyze critically either the policies favored by Wallace or the rationale of his major supporters.

MacDougall accepts without question Wallace's own judgment that, beginning in 1944, the Democratic party turned its back on the New Deal and left only Wallace and the "New Party" to carry on the spirit of FDR. He therefore writes off Truman's anti-inflation, full employment, and civil rights programs, his Taft-Hartley veto, and other liberal measures as hypocrisy or political gamesmanship, sees no need for examining the relation of Wallace's foreign policy views to reality, and fails to come to grips with the question of why virtually no New Dealer of note supported the Progressive party.

The author shows that the major impetus for the Wallace candidacy came from dissident middle-class liberals, but concedes that the Communists energetically supported it and "encouraged their members to attain positions of leadership at all levels of the New Party." Though he minimizes the role played by Pressman, Abt, and others, and demonstrates that the tone of the campaign was set by Wallace himself, much of his evidence tends to confirm rather than refute the belief that the movement was captured by Communists in the summer of 1948.

A major flaw of the book is the cavalier treatment MacDougall accords the rules of evidence. He has examined numerous files of clippings and the records of pro-Wallace organizations, as well as various dissertations, and he has either interviewed or corresponded with many key participants. He has made no serious effort, however, to evaluate the reliability of his named sources, and he cites, with disconcerting frequency, "scores of others who requested to remain anonymous." The absence of footnotes and inconsistencies in other forms of identification make it impossible to separate serious comment from mere rumormongering or on-the-scene observation from secondhand information, perhaps dimly recalled years after the event. The private papers of the participants were not used, nor were the numerous secondary works dealing with the issues of the 1948 campaign.

The book may prove useful to future researchers who approach its content with proper caution, but, by focusing too narrowly on questions of organization and tactics, by prejudging the underlying issues, and by relying too heavily on the unsubstantiated testimony of Wallace and his supporters, MacDougall has failed to place "Gideon's Army" in proper perspective.

Union College MANFRED JONAS

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AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CURRENT DOCUMENTS, 1963. [Department of State Publication 8111. Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. lxxiii, 1380. $4.75.)

THIS annual volume of documents, like the others that have preceded it since the volume dealing with 1956 was published, is quite useful to the diplomatic historian. It assembles within its covers a wide range of materials on foreign relations arranged chronologically within topics.

Beginning with "Principles and Objectives of American Foreign Policy," the major topical headings include United Nations subjects, developments in the Western Hemisphere, the Atlantic community and Western European affairs, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the Near and Middle East, the Far East, South and Southeast Asia. The last 450 pages deal with disarmament efforts, foreign economic policy, foreign aid and assistance programs, international information and cultural exchange topics, and finally a section dealing with State Department housekeeping matters. The sources for these documents include speeches by government officials, excerpts from press conferences, press releases, extracts from congressional hearings, executive reports, UN statements, and an assortment of public materials emanating from foreign sources. The most heavily weighted sections deal with the UN (the question of financial support for peacekeeping activities), the Western Hemisphere (Cuba; the Alliance for Progress), and the Atlantic community (NATO; economic cooperative efforts). The iron curtain countries are dismissed with 10 pages; the Soviet Union merits 48 pages; even Vietnam rates just 51 pages. It is hard not to note, with some feeling of despair, that "in the political field a major reduction in the influence of *fidelismo* in the hemisphere has been achieved"; that "we strongly oppose the use of force or the threat of force in the Near East"; and that "it appears that we are turning an important corner in South Viet-Nam in relation to this Viet Cong effort" (March 8, 1963). The honesty of the State Department's compilers, in the Historical Office of the Bureau of Public Affairs, can never be doubted as we read this extract from a White House statement read by President Kennedy on October 2, 1963: "Secretary McNamara and General Taylor reported their judgment that the major part of the U. S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, . . . They reported that by the end of this year, the U. S. program for training Vietnamese should have progressed to the point where 1,000 U. S. military personnel assigned to South Viet-Nam can be withdrawn."

San Jose State College GERALD E. WHEELER

HISTOIRE DU CANADA. By *Robert Lacour-Gayet.* [Les grandes études historiques.] ([Paris:] Fayard. 1966. Pp. 605.)

DURING the last five years there has been a marked revival of interest on the part of Quebec and France in one another. France being more conservative than it once was, Quebec being more liberal, and both being more nationalist have made this *rapprochement* possible. One result has been the appearance of several books about Canada, or, more often, French Canada, published in France by Frenchmen.

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Most of them have been bad and almost invariably for the same reason: the author usually knew nothing about the history of Canada and consequently accepted too much of contemporary Quebec at face value.

No such criticism can be brought against M. Robert Lacour-Gayet. His volume, though not a piece of original research or interpretation, is well founded in much of the best scholarly writing about Canadian history. It is, in fact, very much a textbook history of Canada, and it is reasonably complete, balanced in its judgments, and generally, though not invariably, accurate. Indeed, if one were to make any serious criticism of the book, it would be to say that the author has been too successful in keeping his own views out of sight. Here is a well-informed Frenchman looking at 350 years of history. What does he really think of it? What would have been especially interesting would have been some stronger judgments on contemporary Quebec. On the whole the author has chosen not to commit himself, instead following the accounts of Canadian history as set out by standard, usually English-speaking, authors, and leaving matters there. Only in a brief concluding chapter does he venture to suggest that perhaps the country needs a new constitution that would recognize Quebec's "statut spécial."

Still, it is a work of considerable value; like most books of its kind, it is as strong and as weak as the secondary sources upon which it is based. Unfortunately it is occasionally marred by minor factual errors similar to the author's mistaken belief that the Independent members of the Quebec Legislative Assembly are "indépendantistes." Lacour-Gayet has, nevertheless, certainly succeeded "en-soumettant à mes compatriotes un tableau d'ensemble de ce qui s'est passé là bas depuis Jacques Cartier." It is to be hoped that he will find many readers in both French and English Canada.

University of Toronto RAMSAY COOK

THE TOWN OF YORK, 1815–1834: A FURTHER COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS OF EARLY TORONTO. Edited with an introduction by *Edith G. Firth*. [Ontario Series, Number 8. The Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1966. Pp. lxxxvii, 381. $7.95.)

THIS work completes the story of York, covered from 1793 to 1815 in an earlier, and well-received, volume (*AHR,* LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 260). The editor explains that the period covered is one of the most important in Toronto's history. "It begins in February, 1815, when news of the end of the War of 1812 reached York, and ends on March 6, 1834, when the town of York disappeared into the new city of Toronto. In this short time York was altered in every way. In 1815 it was a small isolated village; in 1834 it was a boom town with an assured and rosy future."

As with other volumes in this series, a lengthy introduction, in this case eighty-seven pages, precedes the documents. After dealing with York as the capital of Upper Canada, Miss Firth devotes her largest single section to commerce and industry. This emphasis is justified as the position of York as a capital lost its significance in the development of its great commercial possibilities. Firth shows also the growing commercial independence of York from Montreal in a brief

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1832 document. Industry, limited as it was to sawmills, breweries, a paper mill, a tannery, and soap and axe factories, was not significant during the period covered. Briefer sections deal with politics, education, religion, local government and justice, health and welfare, and life in York. Her sections on the last two subjects are of general interest.

Firth selected her sources from manuscript collections, newspapers and periodicals, contemporary printed works, published documents and collections, and travelers' narratives. Her selection is imaginative and discriminating. Little of significance bearing on the history of York, 1815–1834, can have been left out. The work is supported by seven hundred footnotes that expand information given in the introduction and documents regarding individuals, buildings, and events.

University of Western Ontario JAMES J. TALMAN

THE MIXTEC KINGS AND THEIR PEOPLE. By *Ronald Spores*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume LXXXV.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 269. $5.95.)

THIS culture history of the Mixtecan people of southern Mexico represents a scholarly and skillful blending of the anthropological and historical approaches, with profit for Hispanic studies as a whole. The author has combined field work, extensive research in Spanish and Mexican archival sources, and detailed analysis of published documents and chronicles; he has a thorough command of the pertinent monographic literature and draws upon archaeological findings and codices. His study represents excellent synthesis.

The volume is particularly significant in that it treats a people of high culture concerning whom much less has been discovered than for the Maya, Aztec, or Inca, and with respect to whom the critical impact of Spanish domination has been much less studied. Spoken by some 150,000, Mixtec is one of the major native language groups of Mexico today. The author estimates that it may have been spoken by as many as 500,000 when the Spaniards arrived.

Within the Mixtecan area as a whole, the author centers his attention on the Mixteca Alta, just west of the city of Oaxaca, and particularly on its important northern former kingdom-*cacicazgo* of Yanhuitlán.

The work provides a general history and description of the culture of the Mixtecan area from earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century, with more detailed treatment of the cultural history of the Mixteca Alta and a reconstruction of the Mixtecan community as divulged by archaeological finding for the earlier period and by documentary sources and study of modern patterns of settlement for the later.

The structure of native government in the Mixteca Alta and the status of the native rulers and officials and their influence, both before and after the Spanish conquest, are analyzed, along with the changes worked by the all-pervading effects of Spanish domination, particularly for Yanhuitlán.

In evaluating Mixtecan achievements, the author poses the always absorbing question with regard to native peoples of the Americas whose cultures were vital when the Europeans arrived as to whether the Mixtecan pattern had fulfilled

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its potential when the conquerors came. He expresses the view that their limited technology, the nature of their land, the orientation of their agriculture, and their political structure would probably have inhibited the people of the Mixteca Alta from achieving a greater population and from developing a great urban civilization.

Alexandria, Virginia ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

NÚÑO DE GUZMÁN AND THE PROVINCE OF PÁNUCO IN NEW SPAIN, 1518–1533. By *Donald E. Chipman.* [Spain in the West, Number 10.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1967. Pp. 322. $9.50 postpaid.)

BASED on exhaustive archival research, this work provides a scholarly, detailed study and re-evaluation of Núño de Guzmán as royal governor of Pánuco, northeastern province of New Spain, from 1527 to 1533. Treatment of Guzmán as president of the first *audiencia* of Mexico and as conqueror and governor of the western region of Nueva Galicia, of which he retained the governorship until 1536, is subsidiary. Guzmán has been regarded as an embodiment of many of the worst features associated with the "Black Legend" of Spanish imperialism. The author's careful findings "suggest that older, stereotyped views . . . must be subject to revision."

After describing the geography and ill-defined limits of Spanish Pánuco and the pre-Spanish culture of its Maya-related Huastecan inhabitants, the author deals with the background of Guzmán's appointment, giving an account of the conquest of Pánuco by Cortes and the founding of Santisteban del Puerto and of the rivalry between Cortes and Francisco de Garay for control. He also discusses the confused governmental situation in Mexico City, which the crown sought to remedy by creation of the first *audiencia,* with Guzmán as its president. Guzmán moved on from this office to the conquest of Nueva Galicia.

Guzmán governed Pánuco in person only from May 1527 to December 1528 and during part of 1533 when he returned from Nueva Galicia and, as part of an ambitious personal design, briefly governed both provinces.

The author's detailed treatment of Guzmán's governorship of Pánuco provides an excellent analysis of the complex, constantly interacting problems of conquest, settlement, and establishment of royal authority as reflected in the province itself and as affected both by developments in New Spain as a whole and by evolving royal policy. In Pánuco, he sought to extend Spanish occupation by founding a second town. His administration seems to have been rather competent. Regarding enslavement of natives and their shipment to the Caribbean Islands, those acts which blackened his character, the author explains, on an economic basis, that at that time there was regularized enslavement throughout the Spanish colonies under certain legally stipulated conditions.

This work contains clear pictures of the rough provincial life of Pánuco, and of Spanish-Indian relationships. Overshadowed by richer and more populous provinces, Pánuco depended upon agriculture and livestock raising.

Guzmán was imprisoned upon removal from office because of the charges of his enemies, and when he was subjected to the normal reviews of his official acts

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(*residencias*), the results proved inconclusive. Guzmán returned to Spain in the late 1530's, where, as a member of an influential noble family, he was at court, probably as its prisoner, until his death in the late 1550's.

Alexandria, Virginia ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

THE WEST INDIES & THE GUIANAS. By *D. A. G. Waddell.* [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1967. Pp. x, 149. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

IT used to be said that the Caribbean area was at our back door, but now we realize that it is on our front doorstep. Its increasing significance for the United States and its growing importance in world affairs makes it an ever more popular subject for study and comment. In some areas, Haiti for instance, time seems to be standing still if not moving backward. But most of the region is in the midst of a period of transition politically, economically, socially, and culturally. In some cases this is apparent as growing pains, in others rising expectations (a better word might be "aspirations"), especially in the newly organized British territories, are the chief concern, while in some countries potential internal turmoil (Cuba and the Dominican Republic) occupies peoples' energies.

Professor Waddell, senior lecturer in history at the University of Edinburgh and a Caribbean veteran, has examined the history and present problems of some twenty-three separate political units still affected by their Spanish, British, French, Dutch, and United States backgrounds and connections. This is not an easy task since the Caribbean is not subject to successful collective analysis. Taken as a whole this territorial geographical expression is so filled with dissimilarities of every type that a comprehensive study, especially of this brief nature, cannot hope to do justice to the subject. Yet Waddell has presented an essay that is thoughtful, at times philosophical, and always within his understanding. He is not only "on top" of his material, but he has "dug in" to it from various directions. And his "Suggested Readings" admirably provide a supplement to the text, even though it would be virtually impossible to have read all of the works cited.

Waddell is especially concerned here with the colonial millstone around the necks of the territories he discusses, but he hopes that "they have not had their prospects permanently impaired by being colonies too long" and that as the West Indies and the Guianas reach the end of the colonial road their struggle to take their places among the modern nations may be successful. Certainly since the 1930's their social structures, economies, and political forms and growth have made the territories much less colonial, which is encouraging to all students of the West Indies and the Guianas. Throughout the book optimism is tempered considerably by the author's deep understanding. The facts are here, and they are presented in a straightforward fashion without waste of words. This is a valuable addition to the series "The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective."

Miami, Florida A. CURTIS WILGUS

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ROBERT SUTHERLAND: UN AMIGO DE BOLÍVAR EN HAITÍ. CONTRIBUCIÓN AL ESTUDIO DE LOS DESTIERROS DEL LIBERTADOR EN HAITÍ, Y DE SUS EXPEDICIONES DE LOS CAYOS Y DE JACMEL. By *Paul Verna.* (Caracas: Fundación John Boulton. 1966. Pp. 120.)

Among the numerous episodes in the career of Simón Bolívar, one has long stood out because of the warm friendship and cooperative understanding of the persons involved. When the general withdrew from the mainland in 1815, he eventually made his way late in the year to Haiti, where he was received with kindness by Alexandre Pétion, President of the republic occupying the southern half of the former French colony. In the next few months the Negro President inspired the general to undertake a new landing and agreed to supply the necessary arms and munitions through a local mercantile firm, Robert Sutherland & Company. During the two expeditions to the mainland in 1816, relations between the English merchant, resident in Haiti since 1805, and the general became close. Several meetings were held by the two, and a number of letters were exchanged. It is possible that, before he came to Haiti, Bolívar actually knew of Sutherland through mercantile connections in Jamaica.

With the assistance of the *Fundación John Boulton* and as a part of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Bolívar's reinvasion of the mainland from Haiti, Paul Verna has undertaken this account of the career of Sutherland, especially his relations with Bolívar. Verna's monograph gives a brief sketch of the merchant's career in the New World both before and after the 1816 episode. It contains nine letters written by Bolívar to Sutherland and one to the latter's son, as well as three written by the Englishman to the general.

The dedicatory statement on the cover well expresses the author's attitude toward his study of Bolívar and Sutherland: "a contribution to the study of the exiles of the Liberator in Haiti, and of his expeditions from Les Cayes and Jacmel." Certainly in the letter to Sutherland's son written from Lima in 1825, six years after the death of the latter's father, Bolívar stated clearly the debt he owed to the English merchant for his financial assistance in helping prepare the two expeditions.

As an ardent Bolivarist, Verna has accomplished his task with credit although it may appear to some that he has included considerable material foreign to his study. The short bibliography points out the author's debt to the *Fundación John Boulton* for the use of the microfilm material. This interesting study fills in several details of an important episode in the career of Bolívar during a period when his fortunes were at a low ebb.

University of Georgia Richard K. Murdoch

NARIÑO: HERO OF COLOMBIAN INDEPENDENCE. By *Thomas Blossom.* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1967. Pp. xxix, 212. $8.50.)

The Colombian "Precursor" Antonio Nariño has been unfairly neglected even in Spanish-language historical literature, and there has not been, until now, a single book-length study in English. Professor Blossom's attempt to remedy the latter gap is commendable, but the result is, nevertheless, disappointing.

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The picture of Nariño that emerges is generally conventional. Blossom is justly, though also uncritically, favorable to his subject, and he offers little real analysis of doubtful or controversial questions. Nariño is characterized, for example, as working for outright revolution against Spain considerably before his arrest for printing *The Rights of Man,* and quite possibly he was. But the evidence—for example, deductions from the presence of forbidden books in Nariño's library—is somewhat inconclusive and would seem to require more careful weighing than Blossom has given it. After discussing the start of the independence movement proper, the author is content to laud Nariño's wisdom at every turn, and he unfortunately fails to give a coherent account of the train of specific incidents and disagreements that culminated in civil warfare between Nariño's centralists at Bogotá and the federalist United Provinces of New Granada. In his last years, finally, Nariño is presented as the innocent victim of a vendetta launched by such enemies as Santander, who in truth have much to answer for on this account. Yet understanding is not served by describing in purely personal terms what was a slightly more complex phenomenon.

Blossom has used some unpublished materials, and in the annotated bibliography he lists a wide array of printed works. But there are significant omissions among the latter, and not all those cited appear to have been adequately exploited for excessive reliance is placed on a few key items. The work is probably weakest in handling the general background of the period, as when Bolívar is said to have rejected federalism only after 1815, but there is often a lack of precision in still other details. The publisher, however, must share the blame for the book's shortcomings. The manuscript obviously needed a rigorous editing and failed to receive one, since the style itself tends to be confusing. Likewise typographical errors, especially in the bibliography, exceed normal limits of tolerance.

University of Florida DAVID BUSHNELL

BRITISH HONDURAS: COLONIAL DEAD END, 1859–1900. By *Wayne M. Clegern.* [Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series, Number 12.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 214. $4.50.)

THIS volume documents the frustration implicit in its subtitle. In considerable detail it traces the internal politics of British Honduras over four decades and provides extended treatment of diplomatic questions relating to boundary controversies, especially those arising from the British treaty with Guatemala in 1859.

With exhaustion of timber stands around Belize, the only population center in the colony, various private and official efforts were made to transform the area into an agricultural economy. None of the required elements—land reform, development capital, wise and consistent local and imperial policy—was forthcoming. Neither of the colonists' principal needs—immigration or railways—was filled. Unreconciled Confederates, United States Negroes, and Chinese appeared in small groups, but left after disappointing experiences. These depressing episodes are recounted in the first half of the work.

The second half relates the background, issues, and continuing controversy between Great Britain and Guatemala over a treaty signed April 30, 1859. The

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Guatemalan position was, and is, that it ceded territory to British Honduras and that payment was a British agreement to build a road from Belize to Guatemala City, which would open up a large region to settlement. The British contention was that the treaty was no more than a boundary settlement, making precise a previously ambiguous international limit, not a Guatemalan cession for which compensation was required. None was ever made. Clegern summarizes by stating: "British treatment of the Guatemala Road question from 1864 to 1884 was a story of evasion by repudiation; during the next sixteen years it became one of evasion through delay." Nonresolution of issues resulted in large part from bureaucratic bickering in London and factional politics in Central America, including the colony of British Honduras as well as Guatemala. Fabian tactics on the part of British Treasury officials managed to thwart all proposals that might have cleared the small but complex diplomatic impasse.

The author notes that British Honduras is "one of those places brought from obscurity by recurrent dispute" and that political narrative of its late nineteenth-century history is relatively absent. This small gap now seems adequately filled by Clegern's researches into documents and local newspapers. For some time to come it is doubtful if a major need will arise to reconstruct much further this anatomy of futility.

Library of Congress HOWARD F. CLINE

MEXICAN REBEL: PASCUAL OROZCO AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, 1910–1915. By *Michael C. Meyer.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1967. Pp. Pp. x, 172. $5.50.)

A BETTER historical understanding of the initial decade of the Mexican Revolution will require sound monographic studies not only of the principal leaders but also of the key secondary personalities. Dr. Meyer has made a real contribution to the historiography of the period with his careful analysis of the revolutionary career of Pascual Orozco, Jr.

Tracing the military leader's significant and eventful career from 1910 through 1915, during which time he was a key element in the Madero movement against Díaz, rebelled against Madero, supported Huerta, and opposed the Constitutionalists, the author provides an analysis of his subject's role and also illuminates the revolutionary process at the local level in north central Mexico. Meyer views Orozco as a neglected and disparaged figure. He examines, meticulously using often contradictory sources, the whole series of charges and criticisms that pro-revolutionary writers have leveled against Orozco, discarding some and moderating others.

Orozco emerges as a brilliant military leader whose campaigns, here chronicled in detail, reveal organizational skill, tactical acumen, and field generalship. Politically, Orozco was a warrior with revolutionary ideals and tremendous, almost charismatic, popular appeal. These assets were, however, seriously encumbered by a political naïveté that became so indefensible in the latter years that the somewhat sympathetic author cannot avoid the conclusion that Orozco degenerated into intellectual incompetence.

Orozco's record is one of repetitive poor political judgment based on bad ad-

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vice and conservative elements using his popularity for their own ends. These influences early cast a shadow over *Orozquismo* that loomed ever larger until it colored the movement and its leader. It is noteworthy that most scholars of the period tend to regard the Orozco rebellion against Madero, despite the popular revolutionary leader and proclaimed ideals, as a conservatively oriented uprising. Orozco's stubborn support and defense of Huerta are a logical consequence, but more difficult to explain.

I wish that the author had been able to document more fully the role of Gonzalo Enrile, who allegedly was a key link between Orozco and conservative backers. There is also reason to believe that Orozco's father contributed to the subject's hero complex and related personal discontent. There is little mention of the actual conduct of the Huerta regime or, more importantly, of Orozco's reactions. This is an interesting and useful study, characterized by scholarly integrity. Meyer has brought his subject into sharper focus while contributing further to our knowledge of the revolutionary process during the years of war.

State University of New York, Stony Brook STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

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T. Robert S. Broughton, University of North Carolina

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* * * * Association Notes * * * *

American Historical Association

The 1967 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States* is now available and may be ordered from the Association for $2.00. Limited quantities of the 1961 and 1964 editions may also be secured at $1.50 per copy. A current file of titles of dissertations in progress is maintained at the AHA office, and forms for registering topics are sent periodically to all departments offering the Ph.D. in history. Those registering titles of theses should check previous *Lists* to avoid duplication; if a topic is changed, the Association should be notified of both old and new titles.

Titles of completed dissertations, for which degrees have been awarded, appear each year in the Association's *Annual Report.*

Recent Deaths

Julian Ira Lindsay of Burlington, Vermont, died February 23, 1967.

Bohdan F. Pawlowicz of Silver Spring, Maryland, died May 28.

On July 1, Gerhard Ritter died at the age of seventy-nine. Since 1959 he had been an honorary member of the American Historical Association. He came from a Protestant minister's family in Hesse and retained a lively interest in religion, although his chief works were in political history. His foremost teacher was Hermann Oncken in Heidelberg. Ritter's academic career proceeded rapidly: After a few years as *Privatdozent* in Heidelberg and a brief interlude as professor in Hamburg he went to Freiburg, where he remained for more than forty years of an active life as an academic teacher and historical author of eminent rank. The Nazi years were a time of deep anxiety for Ritter. He was an open-minded conservative and as such an opponent of the Nazis. As a member of a Protestant resistance group related to the revolt of July 1944 he was imprisoned by the Nazis, but survived until the Russians freed him in Berlin-Moabit in May 1945.

Ritter's works have made significant contributions to every period of German history since the fifteenth century. His studies on late medieval Scholasticism in Germany are indispensable for an understanding of the background of the Reformation, as are his studies on German humanism. In his history of Heidelberg University (1936), from its founding in 1386 to the early sixteenth century, he presented a picture of the intellectual history of Germany during this period that was full of new insights. After the Second World War he presented, in his *Die Neugestaltung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert* (1949), a masterly interpretation of the general history of the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation. An-

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other work of lasting influence is his historical biography of Baron von Stein (1931). After the close of the war he devoted much of his time to contemporary history, and his book on Carl Goerdeler (1954) was his most outstanding contribution in the area. Thereafter he undertook a voluminous study on the impact of military and militaristic thought on modern statecraft. The third volume, leading to the middle of the First World War, appeared in 1964. The fourth, and final, volume he was able to finish in manuscript before his death.

Carl Sandburg, a member of the Association since 1942, died July 22.

The death of Kent Roberts Greenfield on July 25 ended a distinguished scholarly career. He received the Ph.D. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1915 when only twenty-two years old. His dissertation, *Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg,* was published in the "Hopkins Studies." He shifted his scholarly focus to modern Italian history on the advice of Charles Seymour who pointed out the neglect of that field in America. This led to his appointment to the faculty of Yale after several years at the University of Delaware. In 1930 he became chairman of the history department of Johns Hopkins and continued there until 1942. During that period his most notable contribution was *Economics and Liberalism in the Risorgimento: A Study of Nationalism in Lombardy, 1814–1848.* How highly it was regarded can be seen by the fact that the Italian edition was translated by Gino Luzzato.

During World War II Greenfield again shifted his scholarly interest and again achieved notable success. At first in uniform and then as the civilian chief historian of the Department of the Army, he planned, directed, and contributed to the official military history of World War II. The deserved reputation of the fifty or more volumes published while he was responsible for the project and the morale of the group of scholars he assembled can be attributed to the skill and enthusiasm of his leadership, often under the difficulties of official history in a bureaucracy. With Robert Palmer and Bell Wiley he wrote *The Organization of Ground Combat Troops,* and he edited and contributed to *Command Decisions,* both in the official series. He was also author of two small studies not a part of the official history: *The Historian and the Army* and *American Strategy in World War II.*

After he retired in 1958 he lived in Baltimore and resumed an active role in the Society for Italian Historical Studies.

Sidney Bradshaw Fay, a life member of the Association since 1925 and its President in 1946, died August 29, at the age of ninety-one. His death came after a short illness that involved surgery. Although he had long suffered from failing eyesight, his mind remained clear until the end. Indeed, he retained a lively interest in all professional matters and delighted in reviews and discussions of new ideas and publications.

Following his graduation from Harvard College in 1896, Fay spent two years in travel and study in Europe, during which he heard the lectures of the great in both Paris and Berlin. After completing graduate work at Harvard (1900), he

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divided his professional career rather evenly between Dartmouth (1902–1914), Smith (1914–1929), and Radcliffe and Harvard (1929–1946), where he was the first scholar to hold a joint appointment. Throughout his life he was a devoted teacher, genuinely interested in his students and generous in the time he allotted to their problems.

His significant contributions to the history and institutions of the Prussian monarchy reflected his lifelong devotion to the field of German history. He was also one of the four editors of the *Guide to Historical Literature* (1931), but he will be best remembered for his pioneer explorations of the documents dealing with the First World War. Beginning with his arresting analysis of the Kautsky documents in the *American Historical Review,* XXV; XXVI (July, Oct. 1920; Jan. 1921), he became deeply engrossed in the problems of prewar diplomacy and in 1928 published his well-known two-volume study *Origins of the World War.* The fair-mindedness and objectivity of this book won him immediate world-wide recognition. It was translated into several European languages, including Russian, and even today holds its own as the best and most readable general account of prewar diplomacy.

Fay was a member of many scholarly organizations, including the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the Royal Historical Society. He held honorary degrees from Smith College (L.H.D., 1929) and from Columbia (Litt. D., 1940). Though he had long been in retirement, Sidney Fay will be mourned by many who knew him as a thorough and judicious scholar, and as a warmhearted, lovable friend.

Catesby Thomas Jones of West Chester State College died September 8, at the age of fifty-four.

Halford L. Hoskins died September 14, at the age of seventy-six. He served as chairman of the history department of Tufts University and became the founding dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at that university, serving as dean from 1933 to 1944. He was a founder and also the director of the School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D. C., from 1944 to 1949. From 1949 to 1962 he served as senior specialist in international relations for the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. He then joined the faculty at American University as professor of Middle East studies until his retirement in 1966. His publications include *Preliminaries of the World War* and *Middle East Oil in U.S. Foreign Policy.*

Reginald C. McGrane, professor emeritus and former head of the department at the University of Cincinnati, died recently at the age of seventy-eight. He was the author of *The Life of William Allen,* which won honorable mention for the Justin Winsor Prize in 1925.

Alfred Francis William Schmidt of Annapolis, Maryland, a life member, died recently.

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COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I was seriously disappointed and surprised to find that David Chandler's *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (*AHR,* LXXII [Apr. 1967], 994) is such an extremely bad work. The reviewer, Colonel Elting, advises serious readers to "get something better." Could the colonel state what he thinks is the very best work written in or translated into English, covering all of Napoleon's campaigns? Also, does he know of any important general history on this subject to be published in the future? I am sure that many readers of the *Review* will value the opinion of an expert like Elting.

Mountain View, California ROBERT BELLAMY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

My answer must be bald faced but unblushing. The best book on Napoleon's campaigns is Esposito and Elting, *A Military History and Atlas of the Napoleonic Wars.* We wrote it for United States Military Academy cadets because no such book was available. (None has been published since.) It is big, awkward, and rather expensive; borrow a copy of the second printing (1965) from your library before deciding to buy. There are twelve years of research and two of writing in it, plus the best maps available.

There are three old books—less complete and accurate, but as honest as their authors could make them; John C. Ropes, *The First Napoleon;* Colin R. Ballard, *Napoleon: An Outline;* and York von Wartenburg, *Napoleon as a General.*

Falls Church, Virginia JOHN R. ELTING

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mrs. Janina W. Hoskins' review of *Rozbiór Krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza* (*AHR,* LXXII [July 1967], 1376) calls for comment and correction.

Jan Długosz' life and work were not neatly divided in two phases. He was a historian and diplomat through most of his life. His earliest study, "An Inventory of Bishopric Wealth," was written in 1440. Most of his early writings were incorporated in the *Historia Polonica,* or *Annalium Poloniae,* as called in *Rozbiór.* Długosz had carried out a number of diplomatic tasks, as a member of missions, on behalf of the Polish crown before Zbigniew Oleśnicki's death in 1455. Because of royal ostracism, owing to Długosz' partisanship for Oleśnicki in his opposition to Casimir IV's ecclesiastical and national policies, however, it was actually only in the late 1460's that the King began to engage him as a diplomat and for other purposes.

Długosz did not draw for his *Historia* "largely from documents in the Polish archives," but also utilized Bohemian, Silesian, Prussian, Lithuanian, and Russian materials. He learned Russian late in life in order to use Russian sources. Familiarity with the *Historia* could not possibly have led the reviewer to the

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allegation that ". . . Długosz was far from objective in his opinions, analyses, and interpretations." None of his critics, including the authors of *Rozbiór,* have made such bold assertion. Jan Dąbrowski's preface to the first volume and the introductory discussions in both volumes show the reverence for Długosz among Polish historians.

Criticism of the *Historia* does not begin with Aleksander Semkowicz' work (1887). Its earliest critics were German and Austrian scholars: Richard Roepell, in the first volume of his *Geschichte Polens* (1840); Jacob Caro, in Volume III of the *Geschichte Polens,* which he continued, and in his brilliant dissertation *Johannes Longinus: Ein Beitrag zur Literärgeschichte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1863); and Heinrich Zeissberg, in his prize study, *Die polnische Geschichtschreibung des Mittelalters* (1873), which includes the most comprehensive, critical evaluation of Długosz' life and writings. The judgment of these and other critics, as well as of the authors of *Rozbiór,* is best expressed by Caro in his dissertation. Długosz' title to fame, he says, rests on "seiner umfänglichen *Historia Polonica,* welche als eins der bedeutendsten historischen Werke angesehen werden muss, die in jenem Zeitalter entstanden sind. Umfang der Aufgabe, Kunst der Darstellung und Vielseitigkeit der zu Grunde liegenden Forschung sowie Anmuth und zuweilen Schönheit der Sprache characterisiren seine hervorragende Bedeutsamkeit."

As Dąbrowski makes clear in the preface, the authors of *Rozbiór* have set themselves a task far different and more limited than the other critics, including Semkowicz: "We seek to compare the information given by the historian with the facts known to us from other contemporary sources as well as with the critical illumination of these facts by the literature, without expressing our own judgment in so far as it does not follow from the sources or their critical evaluations. In this way, *Rozbiór* aims to facilitate the research work of the historian, serving as a guide through the thicket of facts worked up five centuries ago, without imposing on him our conclusions and our judgment." This is the objective of the entire *Rozbiór.*

The foregoing is despite my own recent bout with Długosz.

Brooklyn, New York ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Horniker's interest in and knowledge of medieval Polish history are a most welcome indication of the breadth of his interests. His investigations among writings in the field quite clearly surpass the efforts of a mere amateur. It is apparent, however, that Mr. Horniker and I have rather different targets in view. It was not my intention to diminish the value of Długosz' work as material for modern scholars but to point out that he was a man of his era and his country and that his presentations and conclusions are, of necessity, subject to careful and critical analyses. Now that Jan Dąbrowski, K. Pieradzka, St. Gawęda, J. Radziszewska, and K. Stachowska have provided us with so carefully and extensively annotated a version of his work, Długosz' true stature as a major historian becomes ever more clear, and I believe that it is not necessary to defend him against all criticisms as Mr. Horniker seems to intend.

Library of Congress JANINA W. HOSKINS

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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884 Chartered by Congress in 1889

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MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 15,500. Members elect the officers by ballot.

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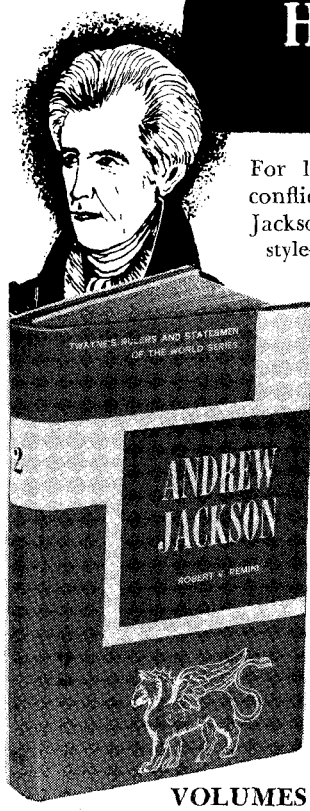
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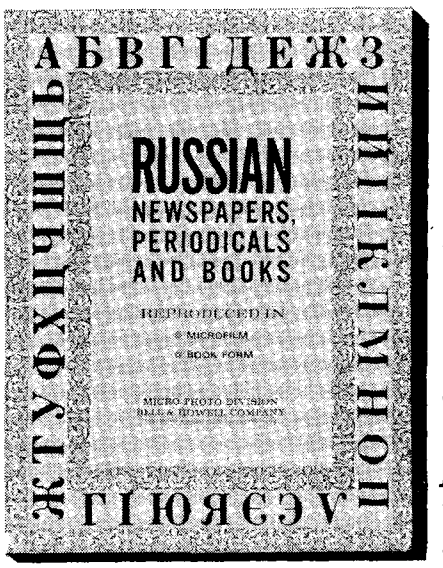
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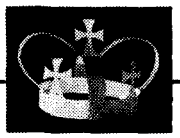
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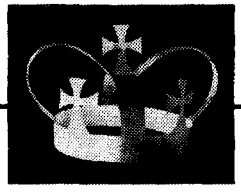
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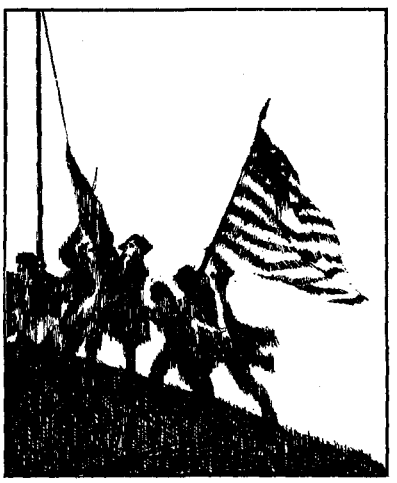
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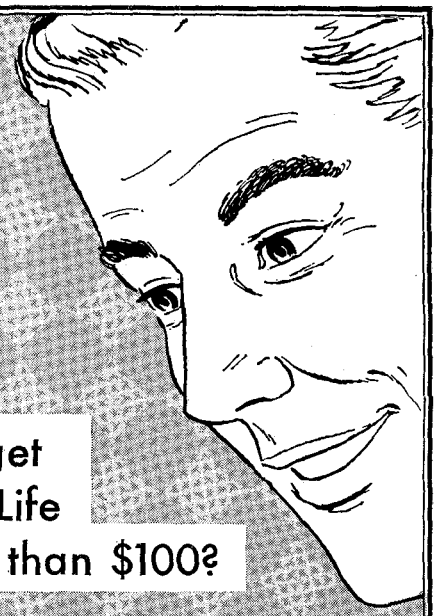
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